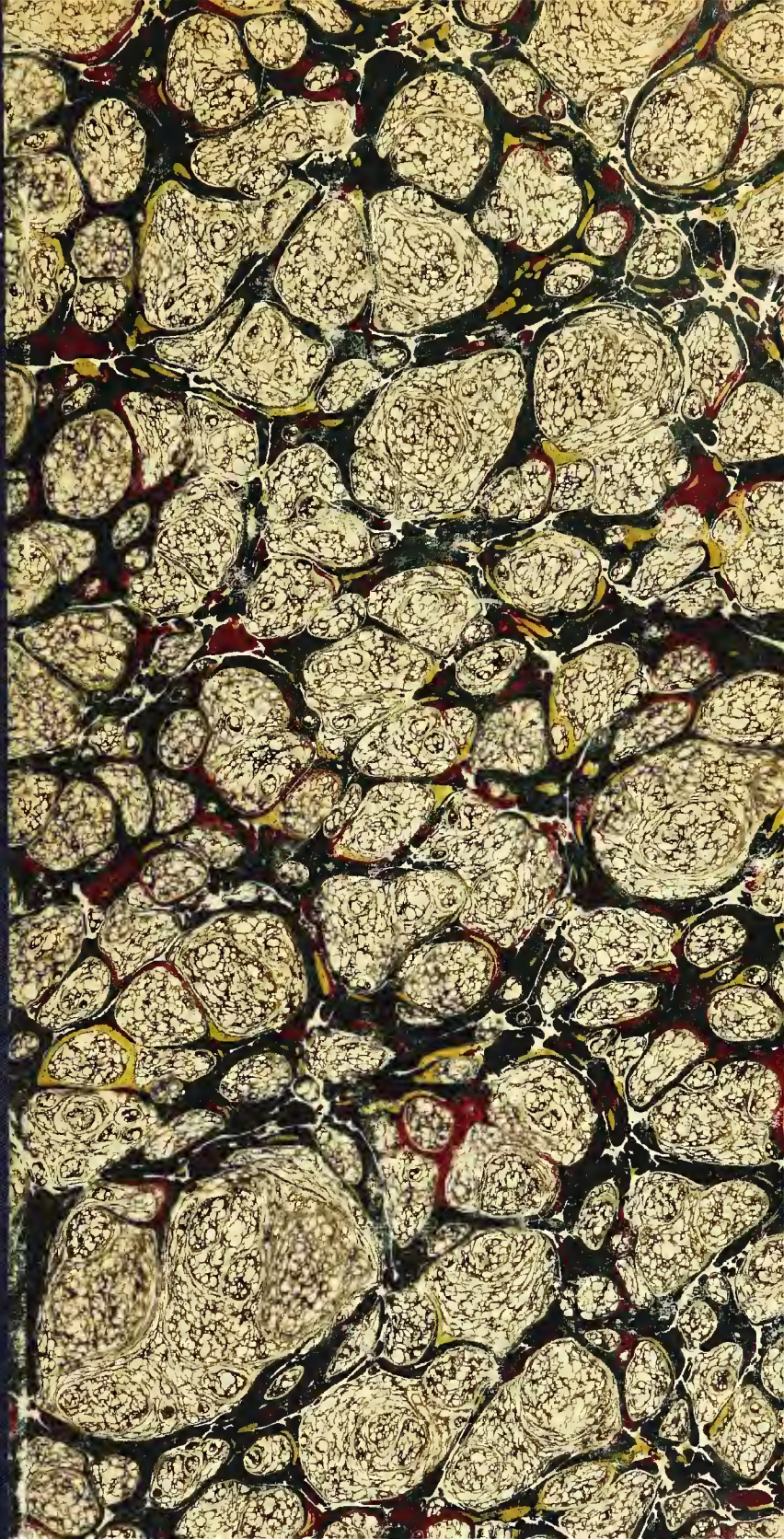

BEACH-LA-MAR

THE JARGON OR TRADE SPEECH OF THE WESTERN PACIFIC

BY

WILLIAM CHURCHILL

Sometime Consul-General of the United States in Samoa and Tonga, Member of the Polynesian Society, the Hawaiian Historical Society, the American Philological Association

PUBLISHED BY
THE CARNEGIE INSTITUTION OF WASHINGTON
1911

CARNEGIE INSTITUTION OF WASHINGTON

PUBLICATION NO. 154

PRESS OF GIBSON BROS.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

BEACH-LA-MAR

THE JARGON OR TRADE SPEECH OF THE WESTERN PACIFIC

CHAPTER I.

PARENTAGE OF THE JARGON.

Jargon is the speech of necessity. It is like its mother in that it knows not the law by which it is rigidly governed.

A jargon is a speech of chips and fragments seized wherever found and used to such end as may be accomplished by brute force of sheer insistence. Because its origin lies in the need of simple men for the communication of a selection of their most simple ideas a jargon is rude, it is vivid, it is picturesque. Not only does it avail to show us to what lowest terms a superior speech may be reduced and yet serve as language, but it affords us a valuable insight into the machinery and method of the language of the more primal type which stands as the party of the second part in every such speech.

For each jargon has grown into being as the speech of the marches, the language of the borderland.

By this we do not mean the bilingual zone which exists along political boundary lines where empires of two speech families come together and evade the sentry and the customs officer in a friendly smuggling. Where a jargon arises and attains currency there must be a marked distinction in the cultural and in the intellectual planes of the two languages which march together. This speech osmosis is most active in the case where the relatively inferior man of the superior speech and culture is brought in small numbers into contact with larger masses of folk of the lower development but of more consistent average attainment to the maximum of that development. In other words, we are to note that the savage maintains much the higher average; no member of such a community falls so far short as to be regarded as ignorant by his fellows. Under usual social conditions this contrast of two cultures out of which jargon tends most readily to come into being is most commonly attained by the contact of our sailors with the savage or imperfectly civilized communities.

In such cases it is well to bear in mind the classic of the scrivener—it is the party of the first part who doth grant, assign and convey; it is the party of the second part who most doth have and hold. Our sailor party of the first part is of the unlettered class, he has no illusions about the niceties of language, his speech is not nice at all. An

inflection, a shade of meaning, a canon of grammar—he is perfectly ready to sacrifice them all if only he may succeed in making himself in some sort comprehended. Placed in the same situation the philologist, the amateur of the preciosity of speech, would be dead in the misunderstanding in about the time that it would take the sailor to establish a thriving business on the beach in which iron nails serve each as price for a log of sandalwood worth its weight in silver. Under this stimulation—and beads are good trade, too—the savage is avid to acquire the sailor's speech and to teach his own. Thus jargon best, most commonly, begins.

Of the jargons, artificial yet valuable languages, we list the following as among the most conspicuous examples.

First in order of time, and on a Latin base, was the Lingua Franca of the Venetians and Genovese in the Levant, when those Italian ports served empires of commerce. By an odd portage among the crews of the adventurous fleets of Prince Henry the Navigator, the Portuguese (Portingales in the speech of their English rivals) carried this jargon to the Malay seas, where it underwent new growth in the admixture of Indonesian elements and lives in ready currency.

Next arose the trade language of the treaty ports of China, the still existing Pidgin. Here the base is English. The conditions under which it came into being are beautifully typical. The English were not of that order of mind which might set itself to the task of acquiring the highly cultivated language of the Middle Kingdom; nor on the terms of their scantily tolerated residence at a few mean points, whose infamy was notorious matter of local knowledge, did they have the time to engage upon such study. Scorning the inferior foreign culture which was so lacking in the dignity of courtesy, the Chinese were disposed to acquire only so much of the new language as might serve them in business, and a sympathy which can see beneath the unruffled calm of Chinese benignity will have no difficulty in discerning the pleasures of disdain with which consciously they mutilated the English speech and when they charily added a word or two of their own were sedulous to draw it from the polluted speech of the most ignoble classes.

Of about the same period, but on the other shore of the Pacific, we next note the Chinook, the jargon of the fur trade, of the sailors upon the sea and the no less adventurous *voyageurs du bois*. Here the conditions were somewhat different; the fur-trader usually established himself in approximately permanent relations with some nomadic community of Indians and accompanied them in their wanderings over somewhat well delimited territory. For this reason the great mass of this jargon is derived from several Indian languages—each, however, subjected to the typical and necessary mutilation. The external element is fairly divisible between an English and a

French source, for if the Astoria trappers were users of English the rangers of the Hudson's Bay Company were preponderantly French or Breeds. As showing that the importance of jargon study was early recognized, we may note in passing that among the earliest of the publications of the Smithsonian Institution in its youth was the Gibbs dictionary of Chinook.

Our next example in chronological order is the Beach-la-mar jargon of the southern and western Pacific islands with a certain extension to the nearest littoral of Australia. It is this which is to engage our attention in this study and may therefore be postponed in this summary schedule.

In the Guianas the Negro English, a magma of an already jargoned mass from various African sources, now mingled with English and other European material, has been in such use that it has advanced toward respectability: the Scriptures have been printed in the language.

Within thirty years a wonderful expansion has taken place in a jargon on the west coast of Africa, the Krooboy. The base of this is English, but fragments have been caught up from many sources, African and European, along a thousand leagues of Gold Coast, Ivory Coast, Palm Coast. The spread of this new and rapidly growing jargon is due to the fact that merchant vessels find it economically advantageous to supplement their crews with drafts of Kroomen for the heavy work of handling cargo on unwholesome beaches.

It would not be pertinent to the present topic to essay the making of a complete list of these languages, lusty in spite of the bend sinister. We might readily add the Gombo and the Cajun of Louisiana, the bâtard French of Haiti, the Papimiento and other mixed tongues of the West Indies, much of the Spanish of Mexico and of the Latin republics. The few which have been presented with a brief note in the foregoing paragraphs have been introduced solely for the purpose of showing that jargons have a respectable history and that in the present time the actuating causes are still potent to create new jargons when the conditions are meet.

Our present study shall be directed upon the Beach-la-mar, a jargon of wide extent but of scanty record; for it has come to its growth in a plane far below that in which interest in speech for itself becomes active. Thus it has lacked its historian, its records are scattered through a few books of travel in the South Sea whensoever the crudities of its diction have seemed to the recorder sufficiently droll to add a comic touch to descriptive pages. Even of record of such sort we find but a brief collection, as will be shown in the notes and bibliography following the vocabulary of this treatise.

There seems no limit to the life of the spoken word; anything which pretends to be speech lives on and on and may appear long

after and far away. While this sketch of the Beach-la-mar was taking shape the jargon phraseology was reproduced on the witness stand in the New York Supreme Court. The witness had solemnly averred that King Johnson of a Solomon island "has been going to college for forty years and he can read and write as well as any one aboard ship." The statement lacks verisimilitude, but no such default attaches to the further testimony of the witness that this savage monarch addressed him in the following terms: "Long fellow man he come ashore, he tell me plenty yarn."

The name of this jargon gives us some clew to its place and time and manner of origin. Beach-la-mar is the common sailor mispronunciation of bêche-de-mer, a name applied to the edible trepang, which, as a delicacy to palates sufficiently acute to enjoy the niceties of its faint flavor, fetches a high price in the Chinese markets. At the time of the beginning of the commercial exploitation of the islands of the South Pacific the reefs and lagoon shallows in these archipelagoes, more particularly from Fiji along the chains of islands of the Western Pacific, abounded in these holothurians. Now, although the demand remains as great as ever, these reefs are unproductive; they have been fished bare in the absence of a reasonable system of protection of this sluggish game. It is only in Fiji, with its recent British government, that any attempt has been made to restore the depleted waters and under proper supervision to provide a source of revenue for the islanders.

The manner of the first commercial exploitation of the islands we shall find germane to the consideration of the genesis of the mixed speech which grew out therefrom. The great voyages of European explorers, bent upon the discovery of the secrets of the Pacific, reached their period of greatest activity in the middle and in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Voyages there had been before that. Gaetano found the eight islands of the Hawaiian group and left no record save a few names dotted on his chart of the way of the Manila galleon upon the sea. Quiros and Mendaña sailed for the gold of Ophir in the Solomon Islands; they even colonized in the northern bay of Espiritu Santo the half-mythical city of a New Jerusalem at the mouth of a River Jordan; but their work lacked permanence in itself and made no appeal to other adventurers. In like manner the exploration of the Pacific did not cease with Cook and Vancouver. In the early years of the nineteenth century no less lustre was shed by the voyages of the unfortunate La Pérouse and of Dumont d'Urville. That century was more than a generation old when Wilkes cleared up the secrets which had escaped the zeal of the long line of his glorious predecessors.

Upon the track of these many voyages of scientific geography flocked fleets of commercial geographers, merchant seamen intent

upon a lading and a market. First of these came the whalers, three years the normal term of their voyages from the southern ice cap to the gelid barriers of the north and searching all the warm parallels of the equatorial seas between these frozen extremes, their prey the right whale and the cachalot. How they crowded these waters after exploration had opened the hidden secrets may be seen in one of the dashing exploits of not the least of those captains courageous who made the American navy great when it was a fleet of wood and snowy canvas and stout hearts: Commodore David Porter cut himself loose from orders, drove the Essex around Cape Horn, harried the Pacific until he had driven off all the Dundee whalemen. Before his work was done he was flag officer of a squadron of prizes armed to fight with him so deep in its draft upon his wardroom country that David Glasgow Farragut was in command of a fighting ship while yet he was a midshipmite.* How long the whaling industry continued at a profit in these remote seas may be estimated from the fact that, in his exhaustive studies of log books from the Pacific, Matthew Fontaine Maury found the data from which to compile a chart of the whales known to frequent those waters, and, even before they had sailed from Fairhaven, from Nantucket or the Vineyard, thus to direct the eager hunters to the most profitable feeding-grounds. This was as late as the years just preceding the war in which the call of his native State drew this great Virginian from the science of oceanography, which he had discovered, and wasted him in the clash of arms.

To any one familiar with the sea under conditions of voyaging where the hand is prompt to throw the spoke to meet the flicker of the after leach of some sail far aloft, it will be readily comprehensible that in the whaling fleet we are to find little of the beginnings of our Beach-la-mar. Other ships take the sea bound "from and toward," to cite the prepositions duly entered on the pages of every log book. It is port which they are seeking, the sea is but the way. But port

*We may not omit a brief note of a forgotten chapter of our national history. Our widely scattered possessions in the Pacific, colonies or dependencies or whatever name may be assumed to make constitutional the fruit of war, Hawaii, Wake Island, Guam, the Philippines, and Samoa, belong to us by title deeds little advanced into their second decade. Only a few days short of a century ago Commodore Porter, neglected when not pursued by the active spite of the Commissioners of the Navy, foresaw the Pacific needs of those United States which had only in outposts here and there reached the Mississippi. In the course of these operations of the Essex he annexed the Marquesas by solemn act of national sovereignty. This deed of wise prescience was neglected, not even disowned. On the site of Fort Madison at his newly founded capital city of Washingtonville in the Bay of Taiohae in Nukahiva I have delved in vain for the bottled and buried copy of the proclamation of annexation. The filed copy has vanished from the government archives; we may draw the conclusion that it fluttered into the waste paper basket from the hands of that Secretary of State whose name is forever attached to the Monroe Doctrine as—after Washington's "avoid all entangling alliances"—the first formula of our foreign policy. This history is most obscure. The result of a very close study of the records is presented by Commander E. L. Beach, U. S. N., in "The Pioneer of America's Pacific Empire: David Porter," in "United States Naval Institute Proceedings XXXIV."

must ever irk the whaleman; he must keep the sea as long as he may; the haven where other ships would be is to him but the place in which to refit with wood and water to equip him for another campaign against the gigantic mammals of fathomless ocean. His contact with the shoreward folk must be so brief as to leave little permanent record. Thus it is in the Beach-la-mar; only a few expressions or words do I find it at all necessary to accredit to whalers' influence, and those in no more than a secondary position.

Whaling, it should be explained, now that the industry is all but extinct, was conducted in a fashion different from merchant seafaring; it paid the whalemen on a basis of sharing in the catch. The unit was the lay. Each sailor, according to his rating on the ship's articles, was entitled to a lay representing a fixed large or small share in the avails of the catch. Accordingly it was the best economy to send the vessel out from her home port with only so many men as would serve to work her around the stormy capes past which were the whaling-grounds. Arrived in the Pacific it was the custom to recruit boat's crews from the islanders, engaged for a wage ridiculously small and without reward from the catch. From these islanders, thus thrown for months into intimacy with the sailors, Polynesian words were acquired to facilitate intercourse, and the islanders themselves picked up some slight familiarity with broken English interrupted by such Polynesian words as the sailors had thought it easy or amusing to acquire. Discharged somewhere at the end of the whaling voyage these men, now become competent seamen and somewhat proficient interpreters, engaged for new voyages, either through their enjoyment of the life or in the hope that at some haphazard time they might reach their homes. It is to their influence that we may best ascribe the presence of Polynesian words readily recognizable as such in the Beach-la-mar, a speech designed to facilitate communication with Melanesian peoples to whom the Samoan and the Hawaiian are as foreign and incomprehensible as is the English. For we should note that there never was a permanent jargon based upon English and Polynesian.* Thus in the vocabulary we note such words as *kaikai* and *kanaka*, in which the whalemen's influence has been carried far.

*Frederici, however, takes another view, but he advances no argument in support of his statement (page 93).

Von Neu-Seeland im Südwesten und Hawaii im Nordosten scheint überhaupt das Südsee-Pidgin-Englisch seine Läufe über die Inseln begonnen zu haben. * * * In der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts scheint eine Art Pidgin-Englisch die Verkehrssprache zwischen Weissen und Eingebornen auf allen damals besuchten Inseln der Südhälfte des Grossen Ozeans gewesen zu sein. Während dann aber dieser Jargon in Ostpolynesien durch Französisch, auf den Cook-Inseln und Neu-Seeland durch ein leidlich reines Englisch und im übrigen allgemein durch die von den Weissen erlernten Eingebornen-Dialekte der polynesischen Inseln zurückgedrängt wurde, gewann in ganz Melanesien, mit ausnahme von West-Neuguinea, das Pidgin-Englisch durch den Arbeiterhandel ganz gewaltig an Ausdehnung und Intensität.

Luck, as in all hunting, entered into whaling. If a ship were too long empty her skipper would seek to pick up a dollar as honestly as seemed convenient. Forsaking the whale for the season it had seemed to forsake him, the whaler would hunt a lading of sandalwood, for which he could obtain a fabulous profit in Canton. In the China ports he might even load for home with a cargo that promised a good return on the voyage. In time sandalwood attracted many adventurous seamen as a trade to prosecute, an industry offering the richest rewards. The tree was found growing in untouched forests on many islands, and none was too remote to escape the trader. This led to a shore sojourn, a closer association with aboriginal races; it was in this new condition that the jargon was found to be a necessity of communication. The sandalwood is now extinct, not a sapling escaped this ransacking, not a tree was held sacred for the perpetuation of its kind. But the speech which grew out of its exploitation endures and has been found adaptable to the needs of newer commerce.

After the sandalwood trade came the bêche-de-mer fishery. This involved much closer association with the islanders. The master of a vessel engaging upon that trade landed, here and there where the reefs were promising, one or more of his men to conduct the fishery and to smoke the animals so that they might be marketable. Whether one man was landed or a companion shared his loneliness, these adventurers had to establish communication with the savage folk among whom long months were to be passed before the ship would return for their takings.

With these outposts of civilization shedding a murky ray upon the simple night of savagery and drawing dark stains upon it should be associated the beachcomber.

Whatever his lapses from rigidity of morals, whatever his slips in deportment, the bêche-de-mer fisher, when the reefs remained productive, the copra trader which he has become under modern conditions (for conditions do change even in the South Sea), these solitaries at least professed industry even though it were harshly vicarious. They had work to do; there was at least the semblance of the expectation that they might earn their return to better conditions. The beachcomber was in far other case. He was runagate, deserter; a score of such dingy men have told me "the ship lay off this shore and I just jumped her."

How can we, churched and policed, how can we comprehend the impulses? Here the ship, the weariness of coarse foods, the hard task, the constraint of duty, the first mate; over the rail a cable's length or two or three of soft shimmer of water, warm and buoyant; beyond the slope ever green; at the shore the soft susurrus of the fronds of the swaying palms, the distant forest canopies laced with

white ribbons of cascades that look forever cool and reposeful. In the slow, scented drift of the night air comes the mingled perfume of heavy odors, the rhythmic clapping of hands as the sensuous charm of the dance intermixes in posturings and swayings, the cheer of happy laughter, the swell of the music of song. Small wonder that tide and beach attract; another sailor has "just jumped his ship"; one more beachcomber settles down to the comfort of savage life where duty is a thing unkown.

Such and of such sort have been the men who were the active agency in creating the Beach-la-mar. Being men they must talk, even among alien folk. It is not that they had anything much worth the saying; of men much better placed that may not always be postulated. This record of the language which they have created will show the paucity of their essential ideas and their scanty importance. If we are to seek to comprehend the jargon the time will not have been wasted in the presentation of these brief sketches of the manner of men out of whose needs its creation arose and the conditions under which that need became manifest.

It will be apparent that so far we have accounted for no more than sporadic foci of evolution of some mongrel dialects, each narrowly restricted in essential conditions to one or at most to two white men, and the few communities of islanders with which they were in intimate contact. Being sedentary in their employment, the white men, as the principal actuating cause, were not in a position to become agents in disseminating their particular mongrel speech beyond the narrow limits of their influence, and, in the habitual hostility of the savage communities, this influence could never extend beyond the island upon which they were domiciled and seldom (save only in the case of the very smallest) attained to the whole of that island.

But the island world of the Pacific was yet anew to be exploited. The sandalwood had become extinct, the bêche-de-mer had been fished out. There remained a third natural product which had value in lands beyond, the manhood of the islands. The labor trade arose, slave hunting perfumed by euphemisms. Blackbirding was the term cynically affected by its practitioners; at the behest of its beneficiaries, recruiting of Polynesian labor was the designation in acts of Colonial parliaments and Queen's orders in council which named an infamy into respectability on paper and ordered its methods. It was the blackbirding which assumed the mongrel tongues wherever found, bore them to the remotest parts of the Pacific, established them in the Queensland plantations on the Australian coast, and fused them all into a common speech and thereby created the Beach-la-mar.

Melanesia is a tangle of severally incomprehensible languages. In my studies of the philology of that major division of the Pacific I have made use of more than a hundred distinct tongues, yet there are

large areas for which no data are as yet accessible. I should not be surprised if future research should disclose 250 languages in that island area. Day may utter speech unto day, but not island to island in Melanesia. Even so tiny an islet as Three Hills—it is but six miles long—has two distinct and severally incomprehensible languages; one finds its affiliations with the remote Polynesian family, the other avoids all coordination with any known speech. There was no common tongue for the islands which lie between New Caledonia and New Guinea, interpreters there were none. The Melanesian Mission has been forced to set aside the language of Mota in the New Hebrides, to train its indigenous deacons and priests in that language in order that when well instructed in the faith and theology they may serve as messengers in their home villages. Yet the law, the weapon forged by those sage parliaments and orders in council for the purpose of varnishing the semblance of humanity upon slave hunting, prescribed that the slaver must explain to the intended slave the full meaning of his engagement and that the slave's answers must satisfy the Government labor agent that he comprehended what he was about to do when he gave up his home and idleness to go to an unknown country to toil in the canebrakes. The consideration for thus going into exile was some ridiculously disproportionate matter of trumpery—a hatchet of soft iron, a handful of beads—and it was colorably into hand paid, but as a matter of custom it always went into the wrong hands, it was given to those who remained ashore. No act of any parliament, no regulation emanating from the High Commissioner of the Western Pacific could avail to gloss over such transactions to the savage; he is far too elemental to consider fact less fact when treacled in words. A theoretical captain of a registered recruiting vessel, and there was never such an one in the labor trade, may have been courteous enough and sufficiently law-regardful to inquire of the expected slave if it were his pleasure to enter into an engagement to till the cane in a far land. The slave's chief who wished to sell him asked bluntly "You wantum buy boy?"

It was the labor trade which made Beach-la-mar a jargon and extended its currency. It gathered material from every source, it fused them all and created a language which yet remains the only means of intercommunication in the Western Pacific.

In this summary of the causes of the Beach-la-mar I have hitherto omitted dates, and that of design. While events in divers parts of the Pacific were moving along these lines the motion was not synchronous in all parts alike. Some of the islanders had a worse reputation for inhospitality manifested in general devilishness than others, just as soot may be smudged on charcoal. Adventurous as the first voyagers in Melanesia were, there was instinct within

them a certain regard for the integrity of their skins, and their characteristics of orthodoxy led them to look with equal disfavor upon the oven for their mortal parts and flames for whatever residue they considered themselves to possess. Thus it came about that their activities were unequally advanced. In general we may assign the sandalwood trade to the thirties of the last century, the trepang fishing to the forties and fifties, the labor trade to the middle sixties and thence onward in ever increasing vigor for about a score of years.

CHAPTER II.

THE ART OF BREAKING ENGLISH.

Having shown the means by which the Beach-la-mar came into being and was established over a wide extent, we have next to consider the manner in which the two parties to the transaction arrived at an agreement in making the changes, each in his own speech and each in the speech of the other, whereby the resultant mongrel of language might respond to the calls of the need of each owner.

Here we are to find two personal equations. We shall have to bear in mind that each party to the jargon must of necessity make sacrifices of his own speech down to what he may consider the irreducible and ultimate. We shall equally have to bear in mind that there is a great difference in the attitude of the civilized man and that of the savage, and that, with his assumption of the right to rule the barbarian through white franchise and with his advantage in the possession of the tawdry wares which to the islander seem such treasures, the white man must be the directive force in this creation of a speech which shall become common.

Of peculiar incidence upon the speaker of English, we must not neglect to recognize one supreme axiom of international philology: the proper way to make a foreigner understand what you would say is to use broken English. He speaks it himself, therefore give him what he uses.

"'Then we give them the shoot gun,' says Xury, laughing, 'make them run wey'; such English he spoke by conversing among us slaves." This we owe to Robinson Crusoe.

In Bleeding Heart Yard we shall find the principle developed in richer detail; and the extracts, while long, will prove valuable. Each in his own way, Dickens and Defoe were observers particularly alert in the walk of the common life.

It was up-hill work for a foreigner, lame or sound, to make his way with the Bleeding Hearts. In the first place, they were vaguely persuaded that every foreigner had a knife about him; in the second, they held it to be a sound constitutional national axiom that he ought to go home to his own country. They never thought of inquiring how many of their own countrymen would be returned upon their hands from divers parts of the world if the principle were generally recognized; they considered it practically and peculiarly British. In the third place, they had a notion that it was a sort of divine visitation upon a foreigner that he was not an Englishman, and that all kinds of calamities happened to his country because it did things that England did not, and did not do things that England did. * * *

Against these obstacles the lame foreigner with the stick had to make head as well as he could. * * * However, the Bleeding Hearts were kind hearts; and when they saw the little fellow cheerily limping about with a good-humored face, doing no harm, drawing no knives, committing no outrageous immoralities, living chiefly on farinaceous and milk diet, and playing with Mrs. Plornish's children of an evening, they began to think that although he could never hope to be an Englishman, still it would be hard to visit that affliction on his head. They began to accommodate themselves to his level, calling him Mr. Baptist but treating him like a baby, and laughing immoderately at his lively gestures and his childish English—more because he didn't mind it, and laughed too. They spoke to him in very loud voices as if he were stone deaf. They constructed sentences, by way of teaching him the language in its purity, such as were addressed by the savages to Captain Cook, or by Friday to Robinson Crusoe. Mrs. Plornish was particularly ingenious in this art; and attained so much celebrity for saying "Me ope you leg well soon," that it was considered in the yard but a very short remove indeed from speaking Italian. Even Mrs. Plornish herself began to think that she had a natural call toward that language. As he became more popular household objects were brought into requisition for his instruction in a copious vocabulary; and whenever he appeared in the yard ladies would fly out at their doors crying "Mr. Baptist—tea-pot!", Mr. Baptist—dust-pan!", "Mr. Baptist—flour-dredger!", "Mr. Baptist—coffee-biggin!" At the same time exhibiting those articles, and penetrating him with a sense of the appalling difficulties of the Anglo-Saxon tongue. * * *

"So that some of us thinks he's peeping out toward where his own country is, and some of us thinks he's looking for somebody he don't want to see, and some of us don't know what to think."

Mr. Baptist seemed to have a general understanding of what she said: or perhaps his quickness caught and applied her slight action of peeping. In any case, he closed his eyes and tossed his head with the air of a man who had his sufficient reasons for what he did, and said in his own tongue it didn't matter. Altro!

"What's altro?" said Pancks.

"Hem! It's a sort of general kind of expression, sir," said Mrs. Plornish.

"Is it?" said Pancks. "Why then altro to you, old chap. Good afternoon. Altro!"

Mr. Baptist in his vivacious way repeating the word several times, Mr. Pancks in his duller way gave it him back once. From that time it became a frequent custom with Pancks the gypsy, as he went home jaded at night, to pass round by Bleeding Heart Yard, go quietly up the stairs, look in at Mr. Baptist's door, and, finding him in his room, to say "Halloo, old chap! Altro!" To which Mr. Baptist would reply with innumerable bright nods and smiles, "Altro, signor, altro, altro, altro!" After this highly condensed conversation Mr. Pancks would go his way with an appearance of being lightened and refreshed.

Here we have the fractured English, the comminution so beneficial to foreigners. There can be no doubt about the value; we induct our infants into their heritage in the classic dignity of the speech of Shakespeare and Milton by drooling predigested fragments into their dawning intelligences; and then, with jewelish consistency, in after life we demand of them that they parse.

Here we find, too, the satisfied, the condescending adoption of the alien vocable. We feel the generous glow of reflecting that, after all, it does us no lasting harm and makes the foreigner feel good, poor devil. See how we enjoy his efforts to acquire the only real speech, our own; he's only a poor barbarian, but so droll.

Katharine. Je me'n fais la répétition de tous les mots que vous m'avez appris dès à présent.

Alice. Il est trop difficile, madame, comme je pense.

K. Excusez moy, Alice; escoutez: de hand, de fingres, de nails, de arma, de bilbow.

A. De elbow, madame.

K. O Seigneur Dieu! je m'en oublie; de elbow. Comment appelez vous le col?

A. De nick, madame.

K. De nick. Et le menton?

A. De chin.

K. De sin. Le col, de nick; le menton, de sin.

A. Ouy. Sauf vostre honneur, en vérité vous prononcez les mots aussi droict que les natifs d'Angleterre.

And Shakespeare's audience rocked with glee.

Far from the wild life of the Pacific as these illustrations are, they yet exhibit two very active principles in the formation of the Beach-la-mar; we shall find them running all through the vocabulary of the jargon.

I have already commented upon the fact that the white man, who is without particular intention or principle of philology dominating the production of the mongrel speech for his own greater convenience, is a man of little or no education. The categories of grammar are far above his experience; the few rules and the many exceptions which form the science of our speech have never been feruled into his intelligence—perhaps it was in avoidance of them that he ran away off to sea and became a part of a life of dingy adventure. Nothing could shock him in the using of a noun for a verb, or of a pronoun for an adverb, or of a stout expletive for the better establishing of the force of his remarks. With his own kind he does that sort of thing at all times; he could have no greater consideration for the savage, who by no chance could detect a solecism. If he betrays no respect for the parts of his speech, still less could he be expected to maintain the integrity of the forms of inflection and conjugation.

In this latter item it were grossly unfair to stamp the ignorant sailor as in a class apart, a depth of ignorance found only in blue water and not known on soundings. It so happens that I am in a position where my assistance is sought by many who have doubts on grammatical questions which they would like to have resolved. I shudder at the intimate knowledge which unconsciously is revealed to me of the number of persons who believe "between you and I"

to be what they are more than likely to denominate good grammar. Only lately my good offices were sought by a correspondent who asked a favorable decision on the phrase "whom he may be" as buttressed by this parsing: "*he* is the subject of the sentence, *may be* the predicate, and *whom* is the object of the verb *be*." This from a person of education, at least she had studied stenography and typewriting and held a job.

I am not charging up these grammatical sins to the sailors by reason of their briny yet fresh air profession; I merely note for the purposes of this treatise that they are sinners in a fashion which has left its mark on the jargon. From the marks thus made we may find an interesting note of the variation which our language may undergo and remain a means of communication; we find the irreducible minimum which is felt to underlie all the refinements of vocabulary and syntax. The English element of the jargon is vulgar English because it is contributed through a vulgar channel; it is the English of the ignorant, who have neither knowledge of canons which we regard as essential to comprehensibility nor scruple about violating them. We shall find ourselves far from English undefiled.

We are safe in crediting the beginning of Beach-la-mar to the forecastle. In its further development under the stimulus of the labor trade we are to recognize the introduction of a new element. The sailors who made up the crews of these legalized slavers were recruited from the slums of the seaports of Australia, particularly the havens of Queensland from Moreton Bay to Cooktown. It would be wide of this inquiry to speculate into causes; the system (long in force) of penal transportation comes into mind at once as a possible explanation, but the fact remains that the common speech of the Commonwealth of Australia represents the most brutal maltreatment which has ever been inflicted upon the language that is the mother tongue of the great English nations. Under such influence the poor kanaka remained for his term of labor, a man to whom toil was absolutely unknown; and this term was never less than three years, and so much longer as he might pass unheard of the authorities who were supposed to see that he was promptly returned to his own island. In this labor their overseers communicated with the islanders through the jargon. Among themselves, in the multitude of languages which the chance of capture and of sale might fling together upon any one plantation, the jargon became the only means of intercommunication. It is not a difficult tongue to acquire, three years in the barracks of a plantation were the equivalent of a university course.*

*Denn jeder Mensch im Schutzgebiet weiss, dass der Melanesier sich nach 4- bis 8-wöchentlicher Dienstzeit leidlich im Pidgin-Englisch verständigen kann. Jeder Polizei-Junge und jeder Arbeiter kann am Ende seiner Dienstzeit Pidgin-English sprechen und kann Reis kochen. Da er immer wieder Gelegenheit findet, diese seine Kenntnisse aufzufrischen, so bewahrt er sie zumeist bis zum Ende seiner Tage. Diese beiden Punkte sind charakteristisch für den ausgedienten Melanesier.—Friederici, 99.

Note has been made of the fact that the superior partner, in making his contribution to the capital stock of the jargon, has manifested the utmost readiness to degrade and to debase the currency of his English speech. We are to observe this in far greater detail in the subjoined vocabulary and in the consideration of the syntax of Beach-la-mar. Similarly we shall find it of interest to observe what is the attitude of the junior, and ostensibly inferior, partner toward the material which is communicated to him, and more particularly toward that which he contributes from his own store.

I do not know a single language of the Pacific in which it is possible to be ungrammatical; there is certainly not one in which certain persons are understood to speak with due regard for syntax and certain others betray their lack of education by speaking incorrectly. That is a distinction that marks only the races of higher culture; the lower race is of even and complete education.

This comment has reference properly only to matters of grammar. In purity and beauty of diction there may exist marked distinctions. I have listened with rich delight to the classic Samoan which Malietoa Laupepa, the last king of that realm, could employ with singular grace when sure of the comprehension of his auditors; yet to many Samoans his words would prove incomprehensible. Percy Smith, the president of the Polynesian Society, has collected the words of many of the *karakia* or mystic formulas of Maori might which can never now be more than words, for no man alive can communicate their inner sense. In my own collection of Samoan legend and poetry are many passages for which no explanation can be given; the ancient sages have taken the knowledge with them along the road of the soul to Pulotu whence is no return.

The exactness and uniformity of the grammar of the island tongues call for such explanation as we may offer. I have said that it is quite impossible to be ungrammatical. The isolating languages have no such device as inflection to indicate grammatical relation. Accuracy in speech rests on accuracy in the positioning of the different words and precision in the employment of the demonstrative and paradeictic accessories which indicate, by the former the relations of person and time and place and slightly of manner, by the latter the concords and dependencies which exist between the attributive words. In employing these several classes of words one puts the vocables in the correct order, sense is made, comprehensibility results, and one is understood. But put word to word in the incorrect order, the result is nonsense, one is not understood at all. In this sense it is really impossible to be ungrammatical.

Widely variant as they are in vocabulary, the languages of the Western Pacific, in which the jargon was brought into being, are all of the isolating type; their grammar, though to us it may seem most

rudimentary, is of practical uniformity in principle, at least the importance of position is paramount. We shall study in vain the comical twists and awkward turns of the jargon if we fail to recognize that the junior partner has largely taken the vocabulary from the superior race and that the degradation of form and frequently of sense has been effected by the white man himself; the savage has no reason to suspect that the damaged goods are not the best in the market. Of any item in this vocabulary we may scarcely venture to credit the savage with a better comprehension than Mrs. Plornish was able to exhibit in the definition of *altro;* the use to which he puts them shows that he regards each as a sort of general kind of expression. But, accepting this stock in trade or working capital, the Melanesian applies the rigidity of his grammar, he employs the English word with the precision of his own speech. If we are to assign relative credits, the barbarian is shown in a far more respectable light.

That the islander when adopting the jargon thinks that he is acquiring a foreign language is readily seen by inspection of the vocabulary; there are but thirteen vocables which derive from any speech of the Pacific. The Melanesians think the Beach-la-mar English, they so denominate it; of a man who is faulty in his use of the jargon the comment is frequently heard "he no speak proper English."

CHAPTER III.

GRAMMAR OF ISOLATING SPEECH.

It is manifest that the comminution of English speech before it becomes Beach-la-mar is chargeable to the English themselves. The study of the accompanying vocabulary will show that the islanders have scarcely ventured upon so slight a modification as mispronunciation of the material communicated to them, even conquering in their effort toward accuracy grave phonetic difficulties. In this connection it should be noted that a rough comprehension of such phonetic difficulties, or rather a dim recognition that phonetic difficulties existed, has to a certain extent conditioned the selection of material for the jargon. Any English word which on experiment proved impracticable to the islanders has undergone alteration to bring it within the scope of their familiar range of sounds or has been rejected for some facile synonym.

A more minute examination of the vocabulary than is worth while in this paper will show that the concessions in speech material made on phonetic grounds are found most markedly in the case of words dependent for the accuracy of their pronunciation on a fine differentiation of the labials. This falls into line with what I have been at pains elsewhere to establish, namely that in the languages of the Pacific the facility of the lips as speech organs is as yet most imperfectly acquired.*

Having accepted from the foreigner this accumulation of new vocables, just as ages ago in the sweep of the great Proto-Samoan migration of the Polynesian race the Melanesians acquired similarly a supply of loan material, these islanders have subjected the new fund of speech units to the regime of their own speech.

For this reason we should engage on a summary survey of the principles of Melanesian speech.

We are yet far too little acquainted with the many and diverse languages of Melanesia to feel warranted in using the term Melanesian speech as in the least implying that there is now, or by analysis and comparison may be at all established, such a thing as one parent of the languages to be met with between the Papuans of New Guinea and the empty sea to the south of the Isle of Pines at the lower tip of New Caledonia. In fact I am expectant that future research directed upon data more complete than are at present accessible will show the existence of at least two, perhaps three, distinct speech families within this large area of oceanic land.

*"The Polynesian Wanderings," 332.

Be that as it may, it really is safe to say that all of the hundred known languages of Melanesia are on practically the same plane of development, even as those who speak them vary in but few particulars little above or little below the same cultural horizon. With this note we shall feel at liberty to employ for the purposes of this study the convenience of such a designation as Melanesian speech, a composite of our knowledge of many languages within that region used as a bench-mark for the examination of this jargon.

We have discarded Bopp's erroneous classification, erected on quite insufficient data, parroted by a long line of systematic philologists, the Malayo-Polynesian speech family. Briefly stated, he sought to set forth that from Madagascar to Easter Island there was a single family of languages and that it was agglutinative. Although first combated by Crawfurd in 1847, this theory has been a stumbling-block to hinder the progress of the study of linguistics in the Pacific tract, thus in a great measure succeeding in preventing the forging of the weapon which might destroy it. Now, however, we recognize the falsity of the classification, and Polynesian and Melanesian may go ahead in search of their appointed end. We know that these two groups of languages are not agglutinative.

They are isolating. Formative elements have lately begun to attach themselves to primal root or stem forms, yet they are far from so much as the beginning of that alteration in sense or in form or in both which characterizes the quasi terminations or infixations of the agglutinative languages. Vocables are frequently monosyllabic; more commonly they are in pairs of syllables; there is no objection to stately polysyllables. It is not difficult to separate these words into monosyllabic elements; the reduction is so successfully accomplished in such a great number of instances that when the reduction seems to fail we may properly ascribe such failure to the lack of data rather than to any fault of method or defect of principle. We go even beyond this reduction to monosyllables. There is excellent reason—in many cases it is clearly demonstrable—to believe that the seemingly ultimate monosyllable is susceptible of reduction to the primal seed of the language in a vowel, to which may be prefixed or may be suffixed, or both, certain modulant consonants having definite coefficient value; that is to say, the consonantal modulants tend to qualify, to define, to refract, and to focus some particular sense in which the primordial seed vowel may be applied for the communication of ideas.*

In a certain distinctive word-form the Melanesian languages exhibit wide variety. In the softly flowing languages of Polynesia the rule is absolute that all syllables must be open; every word must therefore end in a vowel; two consonants may never under any cir-

*American Journal of Philology, XXVII, 369.

cumstances be brought together, and open-mouthed words all vocalic and without a single stouter phonetic element are frequent. But in Melanesia there is no such uniformity. Certain of the languages prefer the vowel ending; in certain neighbor languages this is highly objectionable; terminal abrasion is applied upon the weak ending and the vowel is rubbed off for the stronger ending. We find instances in great plenty of this feature carried to the second degree; a word in passing from a language of open habit to one of the closed habit loses its final vowel, but in yet more distant passage through this medium to another language of open habit it undergoes still another loss: the then final consonant is thrown aside to expose a vowel which in the beginning was inner.

In the matter of the concurrence of consonants there is similar disparity. In the Melanesian languages of open habit no two consonants may come together. There is next a considerable group of languages in which certain double consonants not only are permitted, but are rigorously required. This is particularly the case with the sonant mutes. In this group, somewhat widely dotted over the geographical area, the sonant mutes are unspeakable without the support of the preface of the nasal, each of its proper series, the palatal mute requiring the palatal nasal, the lingual mute the lingual nasal, the labial mute the labial nasal. The following illustrate the principle: In the mutation from surd palatal mute to spirant the *k* of the Polynesian *kamu* may not in Viti become *g* simply, but requires the preface of the palatal nasal *ng*, thus becoming *nggamu*, a double consonant which is fairly represented by the *ng* of our English word *finger*. In like manner *t* must become *nd*, and the Samoan *futi* is *vundi* in Vaturanga, Nggela, and Bugotu. So *p* must at its simplest mutation become *mb;* the Polynesian *pongis* appears as *mbongi* in Nggao, Belaga, Nggela, Vaturanga, Bugotu, Omba, and Sesake. Because, as already remarked, the labials are but just acquired and imperfectly tamed the word may become a wretchedly uncouth mouthing, as shown by these other *pongis* forms—*kpwon* in Arag, Vuras, and Lakon; *mpwon* in Mota; *kwon* in Lo; *kmbwon* in Maewo, Gog, Motlav, and Norbarbar; *nggmbwon* in Volow. This intermediate class admits concurrent consonants only in this specific instance, not so much double consonants as grace notes. A more considerable group of Melanesian languages has no objection to concurrent consonants, no matter what they may be.

Such matters of form are far from being the really distinctive character of isolating languages. A much more vital quality is the evaluation of words as agencies of speech. Not for long ages of evolution are we to approach the seemingly simple system of parts of speech with which we are familiar until grammatical formalism clouds the clarity of our analytic language. The great difficulty

which has arisen to prevent the comprehension of isolating language has been the fetish regard in which students have held eight or nine parts of their own speech as in some sort deodand.

This is not the place, nor in this treatise is there room, for a complete discussion of the syntactical problems of isolating speech. But our study of the jargon calls for at least a summary statement of the rules of Melanesian grammar in accordance with which it is used.

All vocables fall into one of three classes. This is a present and operative condition; it is not impossible, in many cases it is easy, to study out the method of differentiation by which these classes have grown from a protoplasm of sounds modulated by a consciously exerted intelligence. The three parts of Melanesian speech, the designation familiar to our systems of grammar being conveniently employed in an indicative sense and not as definition, are the attributive, the demonstrative, and the paradeictic.

The list of the vocables which fall within the third class is brief. These words are such as indicate, but do not necessarily define, relation as existing between two objects of cognition. The intellectual plane of the men whose thought is communicated by these languages is yet far too low to give to these relation words positive and distinctive value; their effective end in speech is no more than to indicate that at a certain point there is a relation of some sort. In this category we may discover the segmentation of the germ which seems to promise growth into something corresponding to the conjunctions and prepositions of the more highly organized systems of speech.

There are very few of these paradeictic words—quite enough to serve the islander's needs in distinguishing the several sorts of relation which seem to him valuable to communicate. Hence it comes about that each of these few words must do recruit duty for a large number of the relations to comprehension of which our keener intelligence and recognition of a more deeply interlaced plexus of association have brought us. We note that these words are among the most elemental in the several languages; they are the simple vowels, or at most they have undergone the most primary modulation by the prefixing of a coefficient consonant. To exhibit both the nature and employment of the paradeictic we may profitably consider a collocation of vocables drawn from one of the isolating languages of the Pacific, and I employ the Samoan of Nuclear Polynesia for the reason that it has been so much more extensively studied than any Melanesian speech that more detailed examination of the point is comparatively easy.

In the composite sense group *tala i manu* we see two attributives between which is interjected the paradeictic *i*. If we were to render this phrase into Latin we should have *historia animalium;* we should

find the dependence of the succeeding attributive word upon the former paradigmatically incorporated within itself; we should parse *animalium* as in the genitive objective. Therein we confess (at least an examination of the logical process underlying the genitive use as object shows that without particular note of the fact we do acknowledge) that *historia*, though noun in its assignment to the classic parts of speech, yet retains so much of its verb power as to govern an object. In any English rendering we must employ a preposition; we can make the Samoan sense appear only through some such expression as "story of animals" or "story about animals." When we examine the Samoan dictionary—and we find the same thing in all Polynesia and in all Melanesia—it is observed that paradeictic *i* is variously rendered as *in, at, to, with, about, of, for, by*, or eludes specific rendition entirely. This heaping up of significations should show on the first inspection that paradeictic *i* is not any one of these English prepositions, it is not all of them; it is still so elemental a part of primordial speech that it is far from becoming preposition at all. The utmost that the Samoan conveys to his alert hearer, the utmost that he regards it essential to convey for purposes of thought communication, is the following, and here I must anticipate the explanation of the attributive which will be reached in due and orderly course. He says: "there-is-a-telling—there-is-a-relation—living-things." Thus paradeictic *i* is not here a preposition; it is but a warning sign that in the former attributive is a verbal value and that it has transitive force upon the succeeding attributive. It is, therefore, but a sign suggesting a certain group of relations.

Before we pass along and leave this particular paradeictic we may well note another of its uses, for it is critical in our classification of these languages as isolating and not agglutinative. To warrant a language entry into the agglutinative class it is not sufficient to put two elements into compaction. Clearing away the iron rule of the printer, such compaction is a matter of pronunciation. We acknowledge no such virtue in the nut-quad of the printer's case as that by its presence or by its absence it shall make a word compound on the one hand or on the other composite. So, as between isolating languages freely compacting and agglutinative languages freely composite, there must be a difference underlying the distinction. This is it. In agglutination we encounter a modification and more or less of atrophy of the subordinate members of the composite.

In the foregoing exhibition phrase from the Samoan we have already seen *tala* the attributive word and *i* the paradeictic. In both of the existing vocabularies of this language, and for motive of convenience I shall retain it in my dictionary, we encounter as a secondary attributive *talai*, erroneously designated verb but fairly employed in no senses other than such as are comparable with our under-

standing of a verb. Of course the paradeictic *i* is irreducible; atrophy of form is impossible. If we examine the sense we shall find no variation of meaning; *tala* means as before, "there-is-a-telling"; *i* as before means "there-is-a-relation"; therefore *talai* means "to tell to," "to declare." It is accordingly a compacted word and not a composite, it is a mark of isolating and not of agglutinative speech.

If it were not that for lexicographic ends it will be found convenient to arrange certain verbal uses of *tala* under *talai*, I should treat the compacted form as no more than a record of fluent pronunciation. In our English we have words now in good usage, but wholly subversive of etymology, as a result of such fluent utterance as must always characterize the speech of any one in his native tongue. I note the familiar instances of *adder* and *apron* where a space dislodged westward has obliterated from our language the true words *nadder* and *napron*, and *newt* where an eastward dislodgement of the space leaves us puzzled over the simultaneous existence of *newt* and *evet* or *eft* as names for the same animal.

The second of the parts of isolating speech is the demonstrative—a class far larger and far more detailed and specific than the paradeictic, yet still numerically small. Into this class fall those words which give vocal expression to cognition data which in daylight may be expressed almost, if not quite, as well by the pointing finger, which commonly are expressed doubly by word of mouth and *digito monstrari*, a process now held inelegant, but which as recently as the brightest days of the Appian Way and the Via Sacra was welcomed as the best of good form. In this class we find what we know as pronouns, personal, demonstrative, the beginning of interrogatives, but no relatives have yet come into being. We find furthermore the basic adverbs of place and time, not yet discrete; we find a few of the adverbs of manner, the simplest ones. In general the demonstrative words in this group of isolating languages are the vocalization of the gesture language, the man's provision against speechlessness soon as the evening shades prevail.

Next we come to the attributive class, in which lies the great bulk of the vocabulary of each of these languages. In this part of isolating speech we include those vocables which in speech of higher development we have differentiated and have learned to designate nouns, verbs, adjectives, and most of the adverbs.

Let us resume the consideration of *tala*. We have already seen the word in a usage which must, despite its violence, be designated a transitive noun, if we are to attempt to parse Samoan by means of our own grammatical apparatus. But that by no means exhausts the utilization of the word. Used absolutely, or with the definition of a weak demonstrative which we might denominate article if it were at all necessary to make a distinction where there is really no

difference, *le tala* means "a story." With other demonstratives we find the sense group '*ou te tala* meaning "I say." Regarded as word absolute, *tala* passes unchanged from one sense to the next. It simplifies the grammar to group all the significations of *tala*, of the thousands of other words which are similarly flexible in use, and to erect a part of speech which shall at once and for all its contents define the use, just as in our more discrete grammar a noun is the name of any person, place, or thing which can be known or mentioned, and a verb is a word which signifies to be, to do, or to suffer. If I may be pardoned a personal note I do wonder whence these machine-made definitions come back so perfectly to mind at the moment when for the first time in a generation I need them or their like.

We may, of course, say that *tala* is a root invariable in form, but which varies in sense according as it is used for a noun or a verb. This is a very indolent way of disposing of the problem; we shall find no difficulty in adducing many instances from English in which noun and verb are the same in form, which interesting fact has absolutely no whit to do with the matter. There is far more in this attributive part of isolating speech than is susceptible of explanation by the statement that any vocable may serve as noun, verb, adjective, or adverb according to the whim of the speaker. We shall lose the whole significance of isolating speech if we avoid its problems by such evasion, and it is vitally significant when we see it pointing the way to the comprehension of how man created for his own needs the art of speech.

In our system of formal grammar the only thing which at all approximates this idea is the verbal noun. The savage of our study, like many another primitive thinker, has no conception of being in the absolute; his speech has no true verb "to be." Similarly he can not conceive a quality in the absolute; his recognition of that quality is always substantive; quality and the notorious existence of that quality must share his statement. His is not the intelligence to say "red" as we may do and hold an abstract idea of redness; whatever word he may use to express "red" must equally express the conception of existence; the utmost he can say is "is-red," and when the word is spoken the untrained intelligence and, in great likelihood, the roving eye will seek out some object in nature concerning which specifically to posit the existing quality, whether it be the blossom of hibiscus tucked over his neighbor's ear or the long tail-feathers of the tropic bird aloft visible to his keen sight, but to us, when discerned, no more than a locomotive dot in the blue heavens.

Recur to my first introduction of the sample phrase, *tala i manu:* it will be observed that for *tala* I offered a sense as dashed as if it were in the Morse code: "there-is-a-telling." Such periphrasis

incorporates the naming element of the stem and the substantive force. It is about as near as we can come to the isolating signification when we attempt to render it in our own analytic speech, we may come a little closer in the rendering "being-a-telling."

Thus are we come to the point where I may venture upon a definition of the attributive as a part of isolating speech. It is the substantive pronouncement of the existence of a state, of a quality, or of an action. Under that definition we need not concern ourselves in the least with the noun or the verb, the adjective or adverb, which are yet long uncertain epochs of evolution in the future.

With this fixed in the comprehension it is not difficult to see how *tala* may seem to us now noun and now verb, yet to the Samoan intelligence may be a single speech unit undifferentiated. I have introduced *le tala* as exhibiting the usage in which *tala* holds the position of a noun such as we understand. To the Samoan this word group means "the—being-a-telling," and that will at once be seen to be the basic signification of what we mean under our noun "story." Again I have introduced this other word group as illustrating the verb function of the stem, *'ou te tala*. In the Samoan sense this is "of-me—the—being-a-telling," that is "mine-the-telling," and that finally is "I tell." Accordingly we have established, at least sufficiently for the purposes of this treatise, the essential nature of the attributive words in the isolating speech of Melanesia.

This chapter may seem a pause in the narrative of the evolution of the Beach-la-mar. Yet it is most essential; the vocabulary is alien; when put to use by the islanders it is under the rule of the grammar of isolating speech; only with this preliminary sketch of that grammar can we trace out the turns of the jargon. No matter from which of the parts of English speech a jargon vocable may be derived, there is no difference in its employment; in Beach-la-mar it may be attributive, demonstrative, or paradeictic—none other, since none other there is. Into whichever of these three parts of speech the adopted alien vocable falls it is under the Melanesian rules governing the traffic in such part of isolating speech.

CHAPTER IV.

SOURCES AND USE OF THE VOCABULARY.

We shall in this chapter pass to a more detailed examination of the vocabulary as under the regimen of the grammar of isolating speech. In the course of such examination we shall see the source of the odd quips and turns of speech which give the Beach-la-mar the twang of low comedy. But we are not to dismiss it lightly because it happens to be risible; even at the uttermost isles of the sea we are not to allow our readiness to see the jest obscure the fact that in it many a true word is spoken. It is a vivid and vital speech, and within its not inconsiderable area a most valuable means of communication, in fact the only feasible means.

In the vocabularies proper to the several Melanesian languages the paradeictic words are very few in number and correspondingly general in their employment. Such we shall find the case in the Beach-la-mar; there are listed but a baker's dozen such vocables, and of these five are recorded only in the most modern phase of the jargon and are of doubtful authenticity.

To correlate them the more readily with our own speech we shall examine these in two classes according as they serve the end of our conjunctions or our prepositions.

In this vocabulary we find citations exhibiting the use of the conjunctions *and, but, if, or.* It will be seen that with one exception (*if* reported by Captain Wawn in 1893 as from the eighties), these are all supported only by the most modern recorders. Against this we set the fact that in the Melanesian languages, indeed throughout the speech of the Pacific, the specific need of conjunctives has been little felt, and of disjunctives still less. Even so elemental an idea as is conveyed by *and* is conceived of only in the relation of two or more concrete objects; the conjunction of clauses and of sentences is effected by putting one in succession to the other without the use of a word expressive of such relation. In the version of the Eden sermon which is here cited the presence of the conjunctions is distinctly a blemish upon the composition; if every *and* were deleted the result would be far better Beach-la-mar. The conditional particle is to a certain extent in other case. It is scarcely necessary to Melanesian thought and is forced upon the jargon from European needs. Phonetically it involves a labial which is not everywhere possible to the islanders; I have record of a scant fifteen languages in which *f* is possible, 15 out of 150. If the consonant were to be abraded

because of labial difficulty the resultant vowel would be in confusion with the prepositional *i*. For these, and probably as well for reasons which have been found to exist in similar conditions far remote from the Pacific, the contributing sailors have expressed the conditional by *suppose*, which may become *s'pose* or *'pose*. It has attained such wide currency in so many jargon tongues that these two citations of *if* in the room of *suppose* suggest rather the ignorant learning of the reporters.

Among the paradeictics of prepositional employment by far the greatest use is made of *along*, *belong*, *long*. Evidently they derive from the same source; certainly *long* does derive equally from *along* and *belong*. It is possible that *along* and *belong* were independent contributions to the jargon vocabulary, but the three are now found so freely interchanging that this point, no matter of great importance, is impossible of settlement. The three cover, among others, every prepositional sense, so that little occasion arises for our other prepositions. This is a little strange in the case of *in* and *of*. If these very common prepositions were subjected to the usual island abrasion of final consonants the result would be the vowels *i* and *o;* and almost from one end of the Pacific to the other *i* means *in* and *o* means *of*. Our records show us but a single instance of the use of *to*, and in that instance we may rest very sure that *to* is not regarded as paradeictic but as one of the three syllables of a command speech unit in which the syntax is as little comprehended as is the theology.

The demonstratives in Beach-la-mar number eighteen; but the bulk of the burden is borne by three personal pronouns and one which we designate demonstrative, namely *me*, *you*, *him*, and *that*. Some few of the citations show inflectional forms of these pronouns, yet they rest on doubtful authority and are not demanded by the canons of the best jargon. It may seem to us somewhat more tidy to remark to a casual cannibal "I say," but he will much better comprehend the locution *me speak*. With us there is something urgent, something insistent about that oblique case of the first person singular. *Me* seems a stouter word than *I;* given the least encouragement it pops into places where it finds that it must not trespass under penalty of the law grammatical. We must not say "he is better than me," yet we do. We must not say "it is me," yet we do; and when brought to book for our offense we envy the French who can happily be correct and ungrammatical with their *c'est moi*, or we look with pious longing at the Society of Friends in the very next pronoun where grammar is swallowed up in faith and *thee* religiously serves as the subject of a verb. But given a distant sea, where the laws of Lindley Murray have no currency and the writ grammatical does not run, it is interesting to see with what vigor *me* becomes subject and forgets its accusative origin in the joy of new life.

In the third person we find a wholesale sacrifice of gender, *him* is *man, woman,* and *it.* In these citations I find but a single instance of *she,* none at all in my own knowledge of the jargon; and as this single instance is supplied by Miss Grimshaw we may disbelieve, but we must show our manners and yield politely *place aux dames.*

In Beach-la-mar these pronouns lack pronominal vigor. They may stand alone, but in general they are found leaning for support upon the universal noun *fellow. Fellow* is man or woman. Our pronouns when they pass to island keeping seem too weak to be erect and need the prop. The same word sustains the numerals. In this usage we get a glimpse of the reason. The numeral is too abstract in itself; it needs a differentiating device to show that it is used in a concrete sense. Where *tasi* means "one" it is necessary to employ *to'atasi* when one man is counted. If this be the ignorance of the savage we are not much better; our drovers reckon cattle as so many head, our soldiers compute arms as so many stand. Therefore it behooves us when we scan the entries under *fellow* in this vocabulary to burnish our own pots before we remark upon the blackness of cannibal kettles.

It will prove scarcely worth while to formulate the rules of the grammar of this speech. They will best be acquired from study of the examples presented in the vocabulary and in the Eden sermon. Each word stands fixed, a unit of speech; it rises serene above the shifts of paradigms; case and number, mood and tense and voice leave it high and dry. In the adjective comparison is unknown; the islanders do not know how to think comparatively—at least they lack the form of words by which comparison may be indicated; "this big, that small" is the nearest they can come to the expression of the idea that one thing is greater than another. Because of this absence of comparative thought I incline to regard the frequent *more better* as comparative only in the estimation of the white men; to the islander it must come only as an emphasis upon positive statement.

In the verb we encounter a form-phase which may suggest inflection. This is the final syllable which in our authorities appears as *'m, um* or *em,* or even by a species of grammatical scrupulosity as *him.* I can not see in any case here presented, or in my wider familiarity with the speech, any reason to regard this as in any sort a personal pronoun in the position of the former of a double object. In general there is the objection that the speech is yet far below such a nicety of grammar; in particular opposition we find the termination applied to attributives with verbal powers in cases where the object can be reached only by the bridge of an interjected *along.* Euphony is equally out of question as an explanation. There is not the slightest suggestion of euphony in the jargon at large. Furthermore (and this is of great importance as bearing on such a suggestion

of explanation) this terminal of neutral vowel and final consonant is used not only on the islands to whose speech closed syllables are grateful, but quite as generally where the genius of the indigenous language is in favor of the open syllable. In the latter case (an even half of the island tongues which underlie and condition the use of the Beach-la-mar) the employment of this termination entails a conscious effort and some phonetic difficulty.

So far as concerns the form, and this has particular reference to the final nasal, I think that we may credit the termination to the white partners in the jargon. But it seems to me that the inspiration came from the islanders. They must have added some sort of termination to the vocables offered them; the white men must have been led by the resemblance in vowel quality and have jumped to the conclusion that this was the *um* with which they were familiar in recollection of the small language of early childhood.

This explanation is borne out by familiar study of the many island languages. In almost all of them, Melanesian and Polynesian alike, there is a termination which may be applied distinctively to vocables when used in a sense similar to that which we know under the designation of verbs. This is the neutral vowel, represented by *a* when the languages are reduced to writing. It may be applied directly to the stem or it may require the assistance of the paradeictic *i*. In the somewhat extended essays upon the syntax of the Polynesian languages, in the slender treatises to which we owe our knowledge of the varied Melanesian speech, the verb forms thus amplified are considered inflected and are defined as the passive voice form. While working on this basis I was led to discover and to formulate certain rules—which by these authorities are nowhere set forth in terms but which are readily deducible from more general statements.

A passive verb may govern a direct object.
A passive verb may govern an indirect object.
A passive verb may govern the agent in the nominative.
A passive verb may agree in number with its object.
A passive verb may be active, deponent or middle.

Such an outrage to my grammatical instincts was far too much. If I had come to the heart of the South Sea, and the joy of parsing, bright guiding star of speech, were thus rudely snatched from me, it was surely time to do something.

As a result, the study and analysis of this built-up form, which is really found to be governed by quite simple rules, has enabled me to identify in the verb-employment of the island vocables of the attributive class a special form to which I have given the name objective aspect. It is this objective aspect of their own grammar which the islanders have sought to apply to the jargon attributives when employed in verb sense. They have affixed the neutral vowel

from their own system; the ignorant white men have been misled by sound resemblance and have made the termination *um*, and the refining force of such recorders as seek to make the jargon good English have made it *him*, which is at least paradigmatically possible even though the syntax may suffer. At base the termination which makes the objective aspect is no more than a vocal sign of warning that an object of the verb is to follow or that it is to be understood that the action of the verb is extended upon some object not deemed needful to state.

The general source of the Beach-la-mar vocables has already been considered. Before leaving this interesting jargon study we may note two or three particulars of origin.

Very properly, in close accordance with our knowledge of the history of the growth of this trade-speech, the marine element is large. There can be no hesitation in ascribing to forecastle English such exotics as *pickaninny*, *calaboose*, and *savvy*—longshore sweepings from the Spanish Main. The *squareface*, sole landward hope of the sailor, is scarcely known ashore. The sailor dialect has kept alive and has given to these remote savages the special sense of *sing out* and *look out*, of *capsize* along with *copper*, of *slew*, of *look alive*, of *adrift* and *fashion*.

Of certain elements of low, cant, vulgar English the sailors may have been the carriers. But another source is to be included. It was not all of blackbirding to get the kanaka aboard the schooner of the labor trade; his term of hard labor was to be served in the Queensland plantations. Here he had the opportunity to enrich his vocabulary with words which characterize Austral English. It is to this opportunity, which one might scarcely venture upon saying the moiling exile enjoyed, that we must ascribe in the greater measure the inclusion of such terms as *tumble down* and *blackfellow*, of *flash* and *trash*, of *hook it* and *clear out*, of *hump* and *wire in*, of *gammon* and *bloody*.

Child men and until the day of unimportant death thinking only as children, this speech of theirs, their English of our English, even when it moves us to laughter moves us to see the pathos as well.* We must pity when we see the even lack of emotion which runs a blue

*Friederici (page 100) sheds a pleasant light upon the Beach-la-mar which I am surprised to find that I had neglected. It is with pleasure, therefore, that I subjoin his brief sketch of the manner in which this immature language is spoken: "Ich nannte es vorhin einen hässlichen Jargon, eine Bezeichnung, die es ohne Zweifel reichlich verdient. Aber es hat auch seine freundlichen, seine versöhnenden Seiten, die selbst der empfindet, der die Sprache nur wenig beherrscht, die aber in der Hauptsache nur dann zutage treten, wenn sie in dem ihr zuständigen Milieu, im Kreise von Kanakern gesprochen werden, wenn sie aus deren Munde kommen. Auf dem Papier lässt sich nur schwer die Wirkung mancher komischer Redewendungen, erstaunlicher Umschreibungen, plötzlicher Ausrufe wiedergeben. Es gehört dazu das Geberdenspiel des Melanesiers mit Mundwinkel, Nase, Augen und Stirn, seine unter Umständen unsaghar verächtliche Miene, sein kindliches Lachen, seine laute Aufgeregtheit."

thread through their dull lives. If we think of them as men over whom the blaze of rage might flame, let us look at *cross* and *growl* to see how shallow this great emotion really is. Or take in the other direction the outpouring of self which alone can make us higher than angels, angels who but continually do cry while we may be lifted up to higher heavens where word and voice itself must fail our highest joy. The most ridiculous word in the jargon is the name of love. Lest the readier smile at the absurdity obscure the pity of it all, I would revive a note which I made in a former paper (American Journal of Philology, XXIX, 36):

In Duffield's New Ireland vocabulary (Proceedings of the Royal Society of Queensland, I, 115) *pus-püss* is defined as "a cat, a white shell, a delicate word." In Stephan and Gräbner's "Neu-Mecklenburg" (the same island) it is cited in the phrase "bimeby she puss-puss plenty" as covering every outward exhibition of affection, static and kinetic. Such, too, is my recollection of the word from an earlier date in the same wild archipelago. The student of ethics will find herein a striking disclosure of the jejunity of the intellectual or spiritual development of these savages when their first need of a term for the affections, possibly their first discovery of the existence of such emotions, is awakened by seeing a rude sailor petting a cat, aliens both.

From German land hunger, from the Iron Chancellor's dream of a colonial empire, the Beach-la-mar derives but the solitary specimen of *rauss*, the mutilated fragment of *heraus*. This, it appears, is a matter most grave. It must be in some sort Majestätsbeleidigung. It is the rift within Weltpolitik's sweet-sounding lute. Mere English is a weak vehicle; we must have the sonorous cadences in which Baron von Hesse-Wartegg deplores the enormity and raises the Valkyr "*hoyotoho!*" which shall call all Germany to repair to the breach and ward off the danger ere it be too late. The ten-year period which he set has already passed; Fatherland must have been far too ruhig; still the savage under the palms both rausses and is raussed. But let the Baron in these pages sound yet once again his loud alarm:

Die vorstehenden Beispiele sind nicht, says he, etwa besonders groteske, ich habe sie nur angeführt, wie sie mir gerade einfielen. Das ganze Pidgen-Englisch bewegt sich in ähnlichen Bezeichnungen, und wer sie auch nur einmal gehört hat, der wird den sehnlichen Wunsch hegen, dass dieser Unsinn baldigst durch vernünftiges Deutsch ersetzt werde. Baldigst sag ich deshalb, weil es jetzt noch Zeit ist, das Pidgen-Englisch auszurotten; vergeht aber noch ein Jahrzehnt, dann wird es sich bei der täglich wachsenden Bevölkerung so eingebürgert haben, dass es unmöglich sein dürfte, und in weiteren fünfzig Jahren besitzt das Deutsche Reich hier ein Schutzgebiet, dessen Missionbevölkerung nur englisch spricht. Für die Weltstellung und das Ansehen Deutschlands wäre dies gewiss traurig und beschämend. In allen Kolonien wird ausschliesslich oder doch vornehmlich die Sprache des Mutterlandes gesprochen, selbst in den kleinen, rings von andersprachigen Ländern umgebenen portugiesischen Kolonien. Und Deutschland, das grosse, weltgebietende, sollte das nicht auch erreichen können? Seitens des Gouvernements des Südseegebietes kann vorläufig nur

der Schulunterricht in diesem Sinne geregelt werden, denn den Pflanzern und Kaufleuten kann man begreiflicherweise keine Vorschriften machen, aber das deutsche Volk kann an den Patriotismus und den gesunden deutschen Sinn unserer den Archipel bewohnenden Landsleute appellieren. Ich glaube wohl nicht fehlzugehen, wenn ich diesem gewiss ganz allgemeinen Wunsche hier in kräftigster Weise Ausdruck gebe. Mögen doch die Deutschen in der Südsee ihrer Muttersprache Anerkennung verschaffen und zu ihrer Verbreitung dadurch beitragen, dass sie sich im Verkehr mit den Eingeborenen nach Thunlichkeit der deutschen Sprache bedienen, anfänglich nur einzelne Bezeichnungen, dann allmählich immer mehr, wenn auch nur eine Art von Pidgen-Deutsch zur Einführung bringen, bis der Nachwuchs aus den deutschen Eingeborenenschulen da ist. Dann ist der schwierige Anfang überstanden, und ein grosses Gebiet der Südsee wird als Verkehrssprache immer mehr die deutsche Sprache gebrauchen. Mögen sich in den heute noch kleinen deutschen Ansiedlungen hier die Beamten, Missionäre, Kaufleute und Händler die Hand zum deutschen Sprachenbunde reichen und einander geloben, nach Kräften und bei jeder Gelegenheit für gutes Deutsch einzutreten, mögen sie zeigen, dass sie auch in Bezug auf die Sprache die Herren auf deutschem Grund und Boden sind. In ihren Händen allein liegt dazu die Macht, und sie sollten sich mit allen Deutschen in der ganzen Welt zu dem Streben vereinigen: "Die deutsche Sprache in deutschen Kolonien."

Beach-la-mar is an amusing speech; in this brief treatise we have studied it with a gaiety of enjoyment which it would be a shame to have repressed. But now we are alarmed awake to its dangers.*

As a relief to the threats of the secular arm, let us conclude with the Eden sermon. The version presented is taken from Mr. London's account, at present the only available source of matter that is much older than his time in the Western Pacific, a brief sojourn at that. He introduces it in the following statement:

> Some years ago large numbers of Solomon Islanders were recruited to labor on the sugar plantations of Queensland. A missionary urged one of the laborers, who was a convert, to get up and preach a sermon to a shipload of Solomon Islanders who had just arrived. He chose for his subject the Fall of Man.

The story was familiar to me years ago in Australia and it was more than once in print in the newspapers. It was frequently related to me by missionaries in the islands and from more than one such source I learned that the story was popularly credited to the late Bishop Patteson. This version, particularly in the matter of the lavish use of the connectives, is scarcely a fair sample of the jargon in its capacity for extended narrative, but it will serve.

*Several interesting pages of Mr. Friederici's valuable treatise are devoted to a consideration of this problem. He notes: "In der Kolonie Deutsch-Neuguinea wird in der Tat ein so weitgehender Gebrauch von diesem Jargon gemacht, er ist so absolut unentbehrlich, dass nicht ganz zu Unrecht die Bemerkung gemacht worden ist, man brauche nur die englische Flagge über unserem schönen Schutzgebiet zu heissen, um den Eindruck zu haben, in einer britischen Kolonie zu sein." Much as he deplores the use of Beach-la-mar as an English pidgin, much as he desires the introduction and eventual employment of German in the German colonies, he recognizes the great difficulty which besets the introduction of even so primary a substitute as some sort of Pidgin-German.

THE EDEN SERMON.

Altogether you boy belong Solomon you no savvy white man. Me fella me savvee him. Me fella me savvee talk along white man.

Before long time altogether no place he stop. God big fella marster belong white man, him fella he make'm altogether. God big fella marster belong white man, he make'm big fella garden. He good fella too much. Along garden plenty yam he stop, plenty coconut, plenty taro, plenty kumara, altogether good fella kaikai too much.

Bimeby God big fella marster belong white man, he make'm one fella man and put'm along garden belong him. He call'm this fella man Adam. He name belong him. He put him this fella man Adam along garden, and he speak, "This fella garden he belong you." And he look'm this fella Adam he walk about too much. Him fella Adam all the same sick; he no savvee kaikai; he walk about all the time. And God he no savvee. God big fella marster belong white man, God say: "What name? Me no savvee what name this fella Adam he want."

Bimeby God he speak: "Me fella me savvee, him fella Adam him want'm mary." So he make Adam he go sleep, he take'm one fella bone belong him, and he make'm one fella mary along bone. He call'em this fella mary Eve. He give'm this fella Eve along Adam, and he speak along him fella Adam: "Close up altogether along this fella garden belong you two fella. One fella tree he tambo along you altogether. This fella tree belong apple."

So Adam Eve two fella stop along garden, and they fella have'm good time too much. Bimeby one day Eve she come along Adam, and she speak "More good you me two fella we eat'm this fella apple." Adam he speak no, and Eve she speak "what name you no like'm me?" And Adam he speak "me like'm you too much, but me fright along God." And Eve she speak: "Gammon! What name? God he no savvee look along us two fella all'm time. God big fella marster he gammon along you." But Adam he speak no. But Eve she talk, talk, talk allee time, allee same mary she talk along boy along Queensland, and make'm trouble along boy. And bimeby Adam he tired too much, and he speak "All right." So these two fella they go eat'm. When they finish eat'm, my word, they fright like hell and they go hide along scrub.

And God he come walk about along garden, and he sing out "Adam!" Adam he no speak. He too much fright. My word. And God he sing out "Adam!" And Adam he speak, "You call'm me?" God he speak, "Me call'm you too much." Adam he speak "Me sleep strong fella too much." And God he speak, "You been eat'm this fella apple." Adam he speak "No, me no been eat'm." God he speak: "What name you gammon along me. You been eat'm." And Adam he speak, "Yes, me been eat'm."

And God big fella marster he cross along Adam Eve two fella too much, and he speak: "You two fella finish along me altogether. You go catch'm bokkis belong you, and get to hell along scrub."

So Adam Eve these two fella go along scrub. And God he make'm one big fennis all around garden and he put'm one fella marster belong God along fennis. And he give this fella marster belong God one big fella musket and he speak "S'pose you look'm these two fella Adam Eve you shoot'm plenty too much."

a he keep a bee there. G 243.
all a Malekula man he say. G 207.

about only in *walk about, run about.*

adrift freely used in the sailor sense of to be unfastened.
make adrift to untie, to loosen, to open.
make'm door adrift: open.
make'm peasoup adrift: open the tin of meat.

ago long time ago. W 290.

alive look alive: hurry up, make haste.

all all functions as the sign of the plural (more numerous than the dual or trinal).
1. preceding nouns and pronouns in our singular form.
all he talk: they say. SG 121.
all he cook him belong Mangin. SG 99.
all man: everyhody. V 253.
all man feel no good. V 252.
all man he growl for you. V 252.
all a Malekula man he say. G 207.
all the boy want to kill me. W 373.
2. with nouns in our plural form.
spirit belong all white men no good. P 266.
bymbye all men laugh along that boy. Se 567.

all adverbially used.
suppose this fellow man he sabe he die all finish. SG 25.
he kaikai all finish. S 304.
he make'm one big fennis all around garden. L 364.
he all bone. V 254.

all see *all right, all same, all time.*

alligator crocodile. R 105.
This is not essentially jargon, the islanders could not make the blunder; it finds its base in the common failure in English to distinguish the two lizards. The "allegory on the banks of the Nile" is a glass-house stone thrown recklessly at a good woman who but followed the error of those who should have known better than to dub *Crocodilus niloticus* an alligator.

along
1. possessive sign, more commonly *belong.*
bone along me; heart along him; eye along him. V 254.
me savvee talk along white man. L 362.
rope along bush: liana. R 97.

along
2. objective sign.
gammon along him. L 361, 363.
kaikai along me. L 361, 362.
what name you sing out along me? L 362.
fight alonga him. W 290.
3. at, objective.
god he no savvee look along us two fella all'm time. L 363.
bymbye all men laugh along that boy. Se 567.
he cross along Adam Eve. L 363.
4. sign of the indirect object, to.
he give'm this fella Eve along Adam. L 363.
make'm trouble along boy. L 363.
5. sign of an ethical dative.
you two fella finish along me altogether. L 364.
6. locative; in, at, on, into.
he stop along his island. W 349.
stop along Vila. W 144.
he find him along reef. Se 173.
he put'm this fella Adam along garden. L 363.
kaikai meat along butcher. R 108.
stop all time along Mabuiag. V 252.
so Adam Eve two fella stop along garden. L 363.
close up altogether along this fella garden belong you two fella. L 363. (Observe the verb value: *close up* almost, *altogether* everything, *along* that is in.)
talk along boy along Queensland. L 363.
they go hide along scrub. L 363.
he put'm one fella marster belong god along fennis. L 364.
7. locative; aboard of.
he come along Ceara. W 349.
plenty boy along ship. W 386.
8. along.
go look'm eye belong you along deck. L 359.
9. because of.
me fright along god. L 363.
10. for, duration of time.
you been take me along three year. W 373.
11. for, for the purpose of.
spear good along fight. Se 560.
you fellow strong along fight. Se 560.
12. out of.
he make'm one fella mary along bone. L 363.

along
13. to.
he speak along this fella Adam. L 363.
one fella tree he tambo along you altogether. L 363.
Eve she come along Adam. L 363.
she talk along boy. L 363.
get to hell along scrub. L 364.
go along scrub. L 364.
go alonga home. W 349.
make rope fast along head. V 254.
14. with.
go along my man. V 252.
15. all along same as: to resemble. The value of *along* does not appear in comparison with the simple *all same.*

altogether adjectively in the sense of all, everything, without suggestion of grammatical number.
close up altogether along this fella garden. L 363.
we buy yam altogether: all you have. W 15.
Adverbially.
1. wholly, quite.
one fella tree he tambo along you altogether. L 363.
god big fella belong white man him fella he make'm altogether. L 363.
2. unanimously.
what for you speak three year? Very good you speak three moon. Suppose you no speak three moon altogether, boy he stop Queensland three year. No good. W 373.
3. altogether—no: not at all.
altogether you boy belong Solomons you no savvee white man. L 362.
before long time altogether no place he stop. L 363.

and conjunction.
pappa belong me he go finish yes'erday, and I bring him head. G 223.
more better you come out and you get water. Se 383.
he make'm one fella man, and he put'm along garden. L 363.

another of diversity in general.
another fellow man. Se 444.
another kind of: different. V 252.
savvy another kind: to know better.
he small now, bymbye he big he savy that another kind. Se 623.

apple the determining characters appear to be rotundity and thin skin.
and god he speak "you been eat'm this fella apple?" L 363.
Used also of the malay-apple, the rose-apple, the mammy-apple, and the onion, the latter being *apple belong stink.*

around see also *round.*
one big fennis all around garden. L 364.

as all along same as. V 252.
This is the sole mention of as; it suggests the decadence of a jargon bent on parsing and consequent destruction.

bad the opposite of good and well.
1. you very bad man, too much gammon blackfellow. Ro 252.
he come back because of bad road. R 136.
you give me bad word. V 252.
he feel something bad in heart: angry. V 252.
inside bad: grieved. V 253.
bad inside: sorry. V 254.
2. to make bad: to do harm to.
I think that fellow he make bad for misinari. G 232.
3. ill, sick.
him fellow belly go bad: to have a stomach ache.

bäl bowels. (Laur, Lambell, King, Lamassa, *balá*; Éfaté, *bwala.*)
woman he hear him, bäl belong him he move. SG 123.

be no be fraid. SG 24.
This is the sole instance of the substantive verb in the literature of the subject; *be* is, nevertheless, very frequently in use, this being a quite natural result of the cheerful custom of the sailors to address the islanders in picturesquely reinforced imperatives.

beat heart beat hard: excited. V 253.
A suspiciously accurate statement; in Beach-la-mar all locutions involving the heart seem to be recent acquisitions from the store of knowledge acquired by the Polynesian preachers.

because of on account of.
he come back because of bad road: said of a yam which comes out of the ground. R 136.
The precision of the preposition *of* is out of harmony with the jargon, and Mr. Ray has not included it specifically in his vocabulary thereof.

bee one time Lamanian man he keep a bee there; now I think the bee he clear out. G 243.
For a second reference to this exotic insect example of unstimulating industry see *sugar-bag.*

been the common device to express past time of action.
you been take me along three year. W 373.
you been eat'm this fella apple? L 363.

been
you been broke ship belonga me. W 144.
I been look round before. V 254.

before earlier in time.
before long time altogether no place he stop. L 363.
I been look round before. V 254.

behind rearward in space.
very good you no go firs', that fellow stop behin'. G 207.

bell the metal bell and the smaller wooden drums.
bokkis belong bell. L 361.
The aboriginal box was carefully excavated along the length of a tree trunk and a cover fitted to the open end. The first sailors in these waters found that their sea chests were highly regarded in barter. In the labor trade an invariable part of the payment was a box, the manufacture of which offered a profitable industry to Chinese joiners. One such mechanic in Fiji introduced the bell lock and leaped into a monopoly, for the islanders were quick to comprehend the burglar-alarm value of a lock which would ring warning when any attempt was made to tamper with it.

belly the trunk cavity, both thoracic and abdominal.
belly belong me walk about too much: to be seasick. L 360.
my belly no got kaikai: to be hungry. V 253.
short man big belly. HW 53.
him fellow belly go bad: to have the stomach ache.

belong see *along*, *long*.
1. to live in, to be a native of, to be a member of.
he belong Burriburrigan. W 349.
docta belong bush. SG 45.
boy belong island. W 373.
big fellow master plenty too much belong Cocopur. HW 53.
he no proper man belong my place. Se 441.
all same belong mainland. R 120.
me belong a Iniet. SG 121.

2. the common expression of the relation of possession.
tail belong him. R 118.
boy belong me. SG 29.
pappa belong me. G 223.
you kitch him money belong you. SG 24.
spirit belong all white men no good. P 266.
wife belong you no got water. Se 383, 560.

belong
that fellow belong you? no belong me. L 362.
god big fella marster belong white man. L 363.
3. introducing a quality.
that fella tree belong apple. L 363.
water belong stink. Re 114.
apple belong stink.
4. introducing other relations.
canoe belong play. V 254.
no proper word belong talk. Se 587.
very good belonga yam. W 122.
fellow belong simoke: cigar holder. Re 114.
5. introducing verbs.
very good belong boil yam. W 122.
how much you pay belong stop along Vila? W 144.
6. sense properly expressed by *along* q. v.
(*a*) in reference to.
me fraid belong kanaka he like kill you me. S 127.
(*b*) to.
bymby you go belong Sydney. SG 24.
talk plenty bad belong man: to swear at. V 254.
you bring this belong master. S 301.
(*c*) direct object.
he puss-puss belong this fellow. SG 123.

below see *down below*.

best best thing you learn us. V 254.

better better; **more better**: ought to. V 253.
more better you come out. Se 383.
have better class inside: appetite. V 253.

big of magnitude and multitude.
1. of size.
big food: a feast. V 253; HW 53.
man Sandwich make big wind. W 144.
he small now, bymbye he big. Se 623
big big man: important. V 253.
talk big: to promise. V 253.
2. with fellow.
(*a*) of size.
big fellow name. SG 23, 24, 112. G 198.
(*b*) of number.
I think you give me big fellow tobacco. G 223.
(*c*) as noun.
big fellow he cry. Re 114.

bit brief, small, as a measure.
hold on a bit: wait. V 254.
little bit: slightly. V 254.
come a little bit good: to improve. V 253.
long way little bit. L 360.
little bit dry. R 111.
I eatum jus' little fellow bit. G 246.
long way big bit. L 360.

bite to prick, to pierce, to be pungent.
color like curry, he bite too. R 95.

blackfellow the aboriginal.
too much gammon blackfellow. Ro 253.
This, the common Australian designation of the aborigines of that continent, seems to be employed in Beach-la-mar less frequently; the foregoing is the only instance of its use which I have found in print. Nigger is equally rare.

blackman the aboriginal.
big fella marster belong blackman: chief. L 359.
Baron von Hesse-Wartegg (53) cites the description of a kanaka clad in white as "whitefellow blackman." As a globe-trotter and a German he lost the sense of the impropriety in this collocation; it would go hard, and that very suddenly, with a kanaka whose vocabulary included this expression within the hearing of a plantation overseer.

blood blood, sap of trees.
he full up blood he kill him. Se 563.

bloody strong qualification.
I bloody fool. V 253.
a bloody rogue. V 253.
This, expletive in Austral English and regarded as such profanity as calls for the awesome dash in print, is not even intensive in Beach-la-mar; the same characterization holds in respect of damn, which is altogether milder than bloody in Colonial speech. The employment of profanity, even the most shocking, by the kanaka is innocent and imitative; his habit of mind finds no joy in curt damns, objurgation with him is a protracted, a complete and altogether a soul-satisfying art not lightly to be shorn of its patiently evolved finish.

boat boat, ship.
me savvee look out along boat. L 361.
This is used only of foreign boats, the island craft being invariably *canoe* or of some dialectic form of *vaka*.

boil a rare process in island cookery.
belong boil yam. W 122.
Commonly no attempt at differentiation is made and *cook* covers all culinary processes.

bone bone, stone.
my bone creaked; bone along me slew: to be bewitched. V 252.
he all bone got no meat: to be thin. V 254.
he take one fella bone belong him and he make'm one fella mary along bone. L 363.
no good garden, too much bone: stony ground.

boom boom, sprit, gaff.
that fella boom he walk about too much. L 360.

boss a modern Australian contribution.
master; to order about. V 253.

both in dual sense.
me Sandfly both speak. W 373.
This is the only instance I have found of *both;* in classic Beach-la-mar this dual would be expressed "me Sandfly two fellow speak."

bottle see *square-face.*
cooky fetch one fellow bottle something makee cold. HW 97.

box case, chest, trunk.
big fellow bokus you fight him he cry: piano.
little fellow bokus you shove him he cry, you pull him he cry: accordeon or concertina.
woman leg you got in one fellow box. G 260.
bokkis belong bell. L 361, 364.

boy the use of *boy* regardless of age is characteristic wherever the English dominate a less assertive race.
1. a general term for *man.*
you look out belong boy belong me. SG 29.
some boy be get him spear. Se 560.
plenty boy die. W 349, 15.
boy belong island. W 373.
2. in the common English sense.
he small boy: a foolish man. V 253.

bread sea-biscuit or other crackers; soft bread is not wholly practicable in island life, but where it is known it is called *falaoa* (flour).
break out that bread: open that tin of biscuit.

break to smash, to come to pieces.
1. in the intransitive sense.
head belong him he break plenty. G 198.
yam he break very quick suppose you no put him down very good. G 237.
2. transitive.
my word, cappen, that fellow break plenty match: the kanaka comment at first sight of a revolving lighthouse. W 97.
break out that bread: open that tin of biscuit. This (the sailor *breaks out* cargo) is used only of the larger containers.

broke
1. intransitive.
cappen he broke W 97.
2. transitive.
man Sandwich make big wind, big wind broke ship belonga me. W 144.

bring I do not recall the word, the sense is far more commonly expressed by the locution *you take him he come.*

brother brother, sister, cousin; in some places all persons born in the same year, as determined by the yam harvest, are brothers.
they like brother: to be friendly. V 253.

bugger up one of the disfigurements coming from Austral English.
to spoil. V 254.

bullamacow (pulumakau). London (361) says:
"Bullamacow means tinned beef. This word was corrupted from the English language by the Samoans, and from them learned by the traders, who carried it along with them into Melanesia. Captain Cook and the other early navigators made a practice of introducing seeds, plants, and domestic animals amongst the natives. It was at Samoa that one such navigator landed a bull and a cow. 'This is a bull and a cow,' said he to the Samoans. They thought he was giving the name of the breed, and from that day to this beef on the hoof and beef in the tin is called bullamacow."
The word can not be Samoan because of the absence of the true *k* from that language, and it is not in use in that archipelago, where *pisupo* (*peasoup*, q. v.) serves for tinned beef. With more of circumstance the invention of the neologism is credited to the Fijians on the introduction of cattle by the missionaries. *Pulomokau* is found (s. v. *beef*) in the English vocabulary of the second edition of Hazlewood's dictionary of that language (1872). It is quite generally used in the Beach-la-mar.

bulopenn Dr. Stephan (SG 20) cautions the collector of New Ireland languages not to record *bulopenn* as the word for *ornament*, since it is only a scrambled form of *blue paint*. It affords an interesting example of the local development of jargon: we find many such words in local use; it was only in the mixture of the plantation and the labor trade that they found exit to a wider currency which might establish them as a part of the Beach-la-mar.

burn *cook* is better usage in this sense.
man Matupi fight along him burn house. W 290.

bush the jungle sense has developed in English since the American hived off.

1. in general all land not under cultivation or occupation for residence, whether covered with forest or with *alang* grass.
bush stop far off gardens there: land under tilth. Se 614.
rope along bush: liana. R 97.

bush

2. with a wholesome regard of the wild inhabitants.
docta belong bush: necromancer. SG 45.
man bush. Glaumont, Nouvelles-Hébrides 71.

3. of the individual plants.
small bush in gardens: weeds. R 122

but the authority is not wholly satisfactory for this single instance.
but plenty kaikai; yes, but me like liklik work liklik kaikai. SG 29.

butcher kaikai meat along butcher. R 108

buy you buy boy? you buy yam? W 15.

by-and-by it is susceptible of loose qualification, *bymby one time* (*day*) immediately after now, *bymby little bit, bymby big bit, bymby long time.*

1. of futurity in general.
you kitch him, by-and-by you go belong Sydney. SG 24.
by-nd-by this fellow he die. SG 26.
bom-by me come back and eaty you. J 97.
bymbye he sorry he no take him. Se 444.
bymbye all men laugh along that boy. Se 567.
he small now, bymbye he big. Se 623.
hear um sing out, by-n'-by hear um plenty smell. G 259.

2. of futurity relative to a past time.
by-and-by boy belong island he speak. W 373.
bimeby one day Eve she come along Adam. L 363.
by-n'-by he speak wantum one fellow water. G 198.
that fellow stop behin', by-n'-by he go on, then you coming. G 207.

calaboose Spanish through sailor English.
a prison. S 301.
you catch 'em man bush, you put 'em calaboose. What name? Him plenty kaikai too much. The sentence of this being, what's the earthly use of a penology which pampers the criminal.

calico this term covers all woven fabrics in trade.
yes, me like calico. W 123.

call

1. to give a name to.
he call'm this fella man Adam. L 363.
2. to have a name.
what'm call this fellow?
3. to summon.
god he speak "me call'm you too much." L 363.

canoe V 254.
Dialectic variants of *vaka*, the Polynesian word for canoe, are in familiar use, *waka* and *wangga* having the widest currency.

can't all same dark you can't see. Se 610.
This is the only instance discovered of a potential, *no savvy* more commonly serving that end. In my experience such a question as "can you do this?" would be answered "me make 'um" or "me no make 'um." This seems all the more remarkable when we recall how large a part *can* plays in the Pidgin of the China coast, even as long ago as 1743, as shown in this instance from Commodore Anson's voyage, "Chinese man very great rogue truly, but have fashion, no can help."

captain cited as *cap* (W 290), *cappen* (W 373), *captain* (HW 97).
The word is generally understood but seldom employed by the islanders, except when Captain and the patronymic pass for a man's name (*e. g.* Cap Wan W 290). The reason therefor may inhere in the fact that it is not a habit of the kanaka mind to address individuals by title of rank or relationship.

capsize the expression is general in the whole range of senses of overturning, emptying, pouring.
"One would not tell a Melanesian cook to empty the dishwater, but to *capsize* it." L 361.
you make him capsize that fellow yam: to spill. G 207.

carry see *hump*.
mary belong Malekula man she carry yam all-a-time. G 207.

catch
1. to take, to get, to obtain, to have.
you go catch'm bokkis belong you. L 364.
you kitch him by-and-by you go belong Sydney, white man hear him, he put money, you kitch him money belong you. SG 24.
suppose me kitch him grass. SG 25.
2. to take hold of.
woman he look him, he run him, he kitch this fellow man, he speak him puss-puss. SG 123.
3. other uses.
by-and-by I catch you: to find one out. V 253.
he catch him place: to arrive. V 252.

chance this fellow he kaikai you if he get chance. Wa 152.

chief very good you go look chief belonga me. W 143.
The word is in the most general use, therefore it would not have been necessary for Mr. London's sea captain to say "bring'm me fella one big fella marster belong black man." He would have been comprehended, but later the comment would have been passed "that fella no savvy talk proper" and just a shade of accent resting on *fella* would indicate that the savage had his opinion of a white man who would call himself "me fella."

child child he come out: to be born. V 252.
This is the only recorded example of anything but *pickaninny* in the sense of child.

chuck he chuck fishing line. V 254.
he no chuck him bone: to throw away. V 254.
Heave is far more common in the sense of throwing.

cigar Re 114.

clam any shell fish.
small fella clam, kaikai he stop. L 360.

class have better class inside: appetite. V 252.

clear out to go away.
now I think bee he clear out. G 243.

close up
1. almost, nearly.
he close up sink. V 253.
close up altogether along that fella garden belong you two fella. L 363.
close up daylight. V 253.
2. soon. V 254.

coconut
1. the tree and fruit.
along garden plenty yam he stop, plenty coconut. L 363.
2. the head.
coconut belong him grass no stop: to be bald.

cold take cold heart: mild-tempered.
one fellow bottle something makee cold. HW 97.

color color like curry, he bite too. R 95.

come
1. in general, though not rigidly, antithetic to *go*.
he know he come along Ceara. W 349.
bimeby one day Eve she come along Adam. L 363.
he no sileep, he come, he puss-puss belong this fellow. SG 123.
god he come walk about along garden. L 363.
2. governing the terminus ad quem.
suppose you come my place you look out, my word. Ro 252.
3. in the sense of *become*.
he come a little bit good: to improve. V 253.

come
4. to bring, to fetch.
you take him he come: to bring here. Re 114.
I think he plenty cross that schooner no takee-him come-him friend. G 232.
5. come back: to return.
he come back because of bad road. R 136.
6. where you come from? W 15.
7. more better you come out and get water. Se 383.
child he come out: to be born. V 252
8. come up: to rise, to be raised.
sun he come up he go work. W 349, L 360.
land he come up. SG 30.
9. brother belong tamiok (an axe) he come he go: a saw. F 100.

coming by-n'-by he go on then you coming. G 207.

cook to cook in any manner, to burn.
all he cook him belong Mangin: all Mangin's property is burned after his death. SG 99.
fire he cook'm plenty too much: to be ablaze.
cook him small hot: partly done. V 253.

cooky a cook, any servant.

copper as aboard ship, the common designation of any pot or similar cooking utensil of metal.

copper-maori oven R 90, 168.
"This word is as widely spread in the South Sea islands as *kaikai*. Dr. Codrington states that it is a compound of *kopa*, English *copper*, and *maori*, a native of New Zealand. Hence it is the 'Maori's copper,' a term used by traders, whalers, etc., to designate the native method of cooking." It seems to me that it is going a long way to connect *maori* with the Maori when so much nearer at hand the word is widespread in its proper signification of *native, indigenous*.

creaked my bone creaked: to be bewitched V 252.

crooked he talk too much crooked: to deceive. V 253.

cross this covers every degree of anger and its expression. I recall that a blunder in navigation which might have resulted disastrously induced me to admonish a Mwala boy, and at the time I flattered myself that my choice of expletives was scathing yet well selected. The only comment from the victim of the vituperation was: "My word, me fella think you plenty cross along me too much."

cross
god big fella marster he cross along Adam Eve two fella too much. L 364.
me cross long woman me rauss him. SG 109.
he plenty cross that schooner no takee him. G 232.
inside him he cross. V 252.

cry to make a noise with the voice or with a sounding instrument, to wail, to sing, to weep; this lack of discrimination is characteristic of the languages at large, e. g. the Polynesian *tangi* which is widely disseminated in Melanesia as a loan word (see "The Polynesian Wanderings" page 412.)
what name lady he maki cry. SG 27.
big fellow bokkus you fight him he cry: piano.
little fellow bokkus you shove him he cry you pull him he cry: accordeon.
make no more cry: to comfort. R 144.
cry like hell. V 254.

curry color like curry, he bite too. R 95.

cutter any vessel of one fixed mast. G 198, R 252.

dark all same dark you can't see. Se 610.

day by-n'-by one day. L 363.

daylight small daylight: early morning. R 142.
small fellow daylight: daybreak. V 253.
he look daylight a long time: to lie awake. V 252.

dead what name we go Ambrym, you no good, you dead. G 198.
go dead: to die.

deck L 359.

devil ghost, spirit. V 253.
make him devil: to perform funeral ceremonies. V 253.

devil-devil a death dance. V 253.
When reprobating the conduct of sailors who for their own idle amusement crowd the lips of these eager savages with uncomprehended infamies of speech, it seems a little shabby to inflict upon the unwitting islander so polemic a characterization of the impropriety of his ancestral beliefs and customs. But such an enforced petitio principii is by no means restricted to the practice of traders and other seafaring folk; the missionaries in Fiji labored with considerable success to establish for the islanders of that archipelago the belief that *devil* was the proper English rendering of Fijian.

die suppose me kitch him grass he die. SG 25, 121.
More commonly *go dead.*

dinner that fellow place you eatum dinner. G 259.

do he no good, what for he do that if girl no want him. Se 567.
what name he do that: how did it happen, how was it done? V 253.

doctor docta belong bush: necromancer. SG 45.
doctăl: Dr. Hahl, governor of the Bismarck Archipelago, as pronounced by island tongues. SG 20.

door not only the door of a house of European construction, but it is extended to the lid of a box and to the operculum of the common univalve *Turbo petholatus.*
make'm door adrift: to open.

down you no put him down. G 207.
me two fellow me fight down below: in the tweendecks. SG 22.
tumble down: to die.

dream man he dream him he find him along reef. Se 173.

drink me fellow me drink him. SG 27.

dry little bit dry. R 111.

eat *kai* or *kaikai* is a far more frequent expression of this sense.
well, I eatum just little fellow bit. G 246, 259.
we eat'm this fella apple. L 363.

english the islanders' designation of Beach-la-mar.
that fellow whiteman no savvy talk English. S 300.

eye put eye on me too much: to stare at. V 254.
go look'm eye belong you along deck. L 359.

far bush stop far off. Se 614.

fashion, fash' custom, manner.
old time fashion. Se 323.
long time fashion. V 253.
fashion belong we fellow. V 253.
one fashion: alike. V 253.
Santo fash': à la mode d'Espiritu Santo—the force of the adjective being geographical rather than hagiographic.
A similar use seems once to have been very common in the sailor English. "Shipshape and Bristol (or Brister) fashion" is a survival, though not exactly comprehended as to the latter member. "My country fashion" is found in Robinson Crusoe.

fast
1. the speed sense is more commonly expressed by *quick* and *look alive.*
2. fastened, stuck, aground.
that ship he fast: on the reef.
my throat he fast: to be dumb. V 253.
make fast. V 254.
make rope fast along head. V 254.

father father mother he no wild. Se 567.
small father: the father's younger brother. V 253.

feel feel no good: to be ashamed. V 252.
feel inside: to know. V 253.
feel another kind inside: to change one's mind. V 252.
he feel something bad in heart: to be angry. V 252.

fellow
1. functioning as noun.
no be fraid Jonni, he good fellow. SG 24.
he good fella too much. L 363.
2. in adjective use.
(*a*) definitive of pronouns: see *this fellow, that fellow, me fellow, you fellow*; note—pronouns of the third person seem not to employ or to need the reinforcement of fellow.
(*b*) definitive of adjectives: see *big fellow, small fellow, strong fellow, another fellow.*
(*c*) with numerals.
two fellow men, three fellow bottle. HW 53.
ten fellow ten one fellow: 101. HW 63.

fence god he make'm big fennis all around garden. L 364.

fetch cooky fetch one fellow bottle. HW 97.
This is more idiomatically expressed by *take 'em he come.*

fight to strike. Re 114.
me two fellow me fight. SG 22.
big fellow bokus you fight him he cry: piano.
big fellow bokkes suppose misses he fight him he cry too much: piano. F 100.
spear good along fight. Se 560.
man Matupi fight along him. W 290.
you fellow strong along fight. Se 560.
when kaikai he fight: when eaten it smarts, said of a pungent Morinda. R 91.

find more commonly *catch.*
he find him along reef. Se 173.

fine he no gammon fine yam. V 253.

finish
1. indicative of completion of the action.
he stink finish. SG 117.
grass belong head belong him all he die finish: to be bald. F 100.
kill him finished. R 114.
me look him finish: I have seen. S 301.

finish
2. transitive: to kill. V 253.
3. to make an end of.
when they finish eat 'um. L 363.
4. to desist.
finish, finish, you speak too much taboo. SG 121.
5. all finish.
suppose this fellow man he sabe he die, all finish. SG 25.
he kaikai all finish: to eat all up. S 304.
6. go finish: to die.
pappa helong me he go finish yes'erday. G 223, 198.
7. you two fella finish along me altogether: I am done with you. L 364.

fire fire he cook'm plenty too much: to be ablaze.
fire place: crater of volcano. G 259.
heart belong him all same fire: to be enraged. V 253.

first very good you no go firs', that fellow stop hehin'. G 207.
first time: formerly. V 253.

fish fish he stop. L 360.

fishing line V 254.

fix to do, to make.
he fix'm that fellow boat.

flash make flash: to dress for a dance. V 253.
put on all flash things: to dress for a dance. V 253.
ornament. V 253.

food more commonly *kaikai.*
big food: a feast. V 253.

fool make fool of: to cheat. V 252.
I hloody fool. V 253. Cf. *small boy.*

for all man he growl for you: to be opposed to. V 252.
he spell for little: to rest. V 253.
you fellow look out for spear good along fight, look out good for spear or some boy he get him spear. Se 560.
for killum man. G 232.
make bad for misinari. G 232.
no good for. Se 70.
what for. Se 567.

four two, three, four week. G 260.

fowl wild fowl. V 253.

fraid see *fright.*
too much he fraid long way from village. Se 162.
what for you fraid? W 258.
no he fraid Jonni, he good fellow. SG 24.
me fraid belong kanaka he like kill you me. S 127.

friend a term of frequent use yet of imperfect amity.
he plenty cross that schooner no takee-him come-him friend. G 232.

fright he too much fright: afraid. Se 552.
my word, they fright like hell. L 363.
me fright along you too much. L 361.

from long way from village. Se 162.

full he full up blood he kill him. Se 563.

game another kind of game: different ceremony. V 252.

gammon (Nicholas found it in use in 1815 in New Zealand.)
to lie, to exaggerate, to joke. L 360.
to cheat, to deceive, to pretend. V 352–3.
bad man too much gammon blackfellow. Ro 252.
god big fella marster he gammon along you. L 363.
expletive: Eve she speak "Gammon! What name?" L 363.
no gammon: really.
he no gammon fine yam. V 253.

garden this is restricted to the culture of the islanders, see *plantation.*
bush stop far off gardens there. Se 614.
he make'm big fella garden. L 363.

get you get water, wife belong you no got water. Se 383.
some boy he get him spear: to be speared. Se 560.
no get him plenty kaikai. W 349.
get to hell along scrub. L 364.
why you stop him get hurt. Wa 152.
this fellow kaikai you if he get chance. Wa 152.

girl girls no good. Se 70, 567.

give he give'm this fella Eve along Adam. L 363.
he give this fella marster belong god one big fella musket. L 364.
you give me bad word. V 252.
you give me good road: to direct aright. V 253.

glad he glad for that fish. V 253.

go
1. of motion away.
boy he like go. W 15.
what name we go Ambrym? G 198.
very good you no go firs'. G 207.
some place me go man no good. L 361.
you go long house belong me. Re 114.
by and by you go belong Sydney. SG 24.
go along my man: to accompany. V 252.
go alonga home. W 349.
2. to be in motion.
him fellow go all time: a watch. Re 114.
3. to become.
him fellow belly go bad: stomach ache.
him go dead: to die.
by-n'-by he go finish: to die. G 198.

go
4. inception of an act or state immediately designated.
sun he go down he go sleep. W 349.
these two fella they go eat'm. L 363.
they go hide along scrub. L 363.
you go catch'm bokkis belong you. L 364.
5. let go: to release. V 253.
let go heart: to covet. V 253.
6. go down: to descend.
sun he go down. W 349.

go-to-hell "Until recently the word for a large bush knife was *kwasikwasi*, but a man named Kwasikwasiero died not very long ago, so a bush knife is now known as *go-to-hell*." Se 630.

good adjective.
1. he plenty good kaikai, one fellow man; plenty good, Missi, all same one fellow chicken. G 212.
you fellow look out for spear good along fight. Se 560.
they two fella have'm good time too much. L 363.
give me good road: to guide, to direct aright. V 253.
he come a little bit good: to improve. V 253.
man o' bush very good. W 284.
he strong, he good, he true. SG 124.
this fellow he good. SG 27.
he good fella too much. L 363, SG 24.
2. in verbal use.
more good you me two fella we eat'm this fella apple. L 363.
very good you no go firs.' G 207.
3. no good. (In use in New Zealand in 1815, according to Nicholas.)
that fellow captain no good only takee tea. HW 97.
spirit belong all white men no good. P 266.
he no good, what for he do that if girl no want him. Se 567, 70.
man-Sydney no good, too much salt. W 384.
you no good you dead. G 198.
he make all man feel no good: ashamed. V 252.
no good you talk: it is useless. V 254.
no good you kill him: it is wrong. V 254.

good adverb.
you watch me good. V 252.
yam he break very quick suppose you no put him down very good. G 207.
look out good for spear. Se 560.

got see *get*.
1. this almost entirely takes the place of *have*.
he eat woman leg you got in one fellow box. G 260.
my belly no got kaikai: to be hungry. V 253.
wife belong you no got water. Se 383.
he got house other side Matupi. W 290.
2. he got good hand: to be skilful. V 254.
3. you fellow got him: to understand. V 254.

grass suppose me kitch him grass he die: to pick flowers. SG 25.
coconut belong him grass no stop: to be bald.
grass belong pigeon: feathers. V 253.

grave man he savy this fellow grave. Se 623.

grog V 253.

growl all man he growl for you: every one is against you. V 252.
to disapprove. V 253.
to quarrel. V 253.

half Se 461.
half-tight: scarcity of water. V 253.
half way in sky. R 101.

hand he got good hand: skilful. V 254.

hard
heart beat hard: to be excited. V 253.
hard up: scarcity of food: V 253.

have see *got*.
they two fella have'm good time too much. L 363.
have better class inside: appetite. V 252.

he note that when *he* is used as subject it does not seem permissible to use the form *he-fellow*.
masculine.
he tell me takeum cutter. G 198.
man he keep a hee there. G 243.
Tannaman he eat woman. G 260.
this fellow he no sabe talk. SG 20.
he likkilik all right now. SG 22.
man he dream him he find him along reef. Se 162.
feminine.
what name lady he maki cry? SG 27, 110.
that fellow mary he no savee carry yam. G 207.
Queen Victoria he look out. W 386.
woman he look him, he run him. SG 123.
neuter.
head belong him he break plenty. G 198.
bee he clear out. G 243, SG 23.
all he cook him belong Mangin. SG 99.
yam he break very quick. G 207.
plural.
father mother he no wild. Se 567.
all a Malekula man he say. G 207.
all he talk. SG 121.
you savez two white men stop Matupi he got house. W 290.

head more idiomatically *coconut.*
he go finish yes'erday and I bring him head. G 223, 198. V 254.

hear white man he hear him. SG 24, 123.
hear um sing out, by-n'-by hear um plenty smell. G 259.

heart these are all derived from the Torres Straits region and impress me as a recent refinement due to missionary teaching; it is not the heart but the liver which is held by the islanders to be the seat of the emotions.
let go heart: to covet. V 253.
heart belong him all same fire: to be enraged. V 253.
heart beat hard: to be excited. V 253.
take cold heart: to be mild tempered. V 253.
I like you proper with my heart inside. V 253.
heart along him think. V 254.

heave to cast, to throw.
heave up: to vomit. V 254.

heavy
eye along him heavy: to be sleepy. V 254
skin belong me heavy: to be thirsty. V 254.

hell cf. *go-to-hell.*
wail like hell: to be angry. R 115.
cry like hell. V 254.
they fright like hell. L 363.
get to hell. L 364.
make hell of a noise. R 109.

here better *this place.*
here no kaikai. SG 10.

hide they go hide along scrub. L 363.

him common gender.
me cross long woman me rauss him. SG 109. 110, 123.
big fellow bokkus you savvee him?
medicine belong him. SG 123.
possessive.
I bring him head. G 223. It is equally explicable as objective aspect.

himself inside tell himself: to consider. V 253.

hold on to wait. V 254.

hook it to run away. V 253.

hospital me takeum cutter big fellow hospital. G 198.

hot cook him small hot: partly done. V 253.

house you go long house belong me. Re 114, W 290.
house paper: government office. HW 92.

how how much you pay? W 144.

humbug
make him humbug: to influence with charms. V 253.
humbug him he no go: to prevent from going.

humbug
The latter sense of *humbug* I have found also in the vocabulary of a negro boatman on Crow Lane, Bermuda, in the phrase "to humbug from doing," apparently to prevent through the interposition of obstacles more annoying than serious.

hump this seems to me the more frequent term for *carry*, and I recall the expressions "to hump a load," "to hump a pickaninny;" perhaps it may prove to refer to such carrying as is done on the body rather than in the arms or hands, the island languages most uniformly making such distinction. In Australia the phrases "to hump one's bluey (the blanket roll,)" "to hump the swag," are common in the speech of bushmen.

hurt why you stop him get hurt? W 152.

I see *me.*
yes, I killum all right. G 215, 223, 232, 246.

if see *suppose.*
what for he do that if girl no want him. Se 567.
this fellow kaikai you if he get chance. Wa 152.

iguana the monitor lizard (*Varanus*).
This name is common in Austral English in designation of any large lizard, often pronounced gowannow.

in leg you got in one fellow box. G 260.
half-way in sky. R 101.
something bad in heart. V 252.

inside jump inside: to be startled. R 117.
like milk inside. R 101.
inside him he cross: to be angry. V 252.
have better class inside: appetite. V 252.
feel another kind inside: to change the mind. V 252.
inside tell himself: to consider. V 252.
he wild inside: to be enraged. V 253.
inside bad: to be grieved. V 253.
feel inside: to know. V 253.
I like you proper with my heart inside. V 253.
he bad inside: to be sorry. V 254.
think inside: to think. V 254.
no speak out, keep him inside. V 254.

island boy belong island he speak. W 373.
all along same as island in the sky. V 252.

jump jump inside: to be startled. R 117.
jump up: to rise.

just well, I eatum jus' little fellow bit. G 246.
tail belong him just like oar. R 118.

kaikai, kai this stem is pure Polynesian; in my studies of Melanesian speech (The Polynesian Wanderings, Appendix I, item 46) I have found it in but three languages of that province, Mabuiag in Torres Straits, Sariba and Suau on the Papuan shore, and this is the waterway through which swept the southern stream of the earliest Polynesian migration out of the Malay Archipelago. The strictly Melanesian word in the same sense, to eat, is *kani* or some easily recognizable variant. The Polynesian *kai* was acquired by white men in their long acquaintance with the central and eastern Pacific and by them impressed upon the islanders of the western chains. It was reported from New Zealand in 1815 by Nicholas.
noun: food, meat, eating.
here no kaikai. SG 10.
he plenty good kaikai one fellow man. G 212, Se 614.
small fellow clam kaikai he stop. L 360.
my belly no got kaikai: to be hungry. V 253.
big fellow kaikai plenty too much. HW 139.
verb.
1. to eat.
suppose me kaikai pig me die. SG 121.
he kaikai you if he get chance. Wa 152.
he kaikai along me. L 361.
kaikai meat along butcher. R 108.
2. to be eaten.
when kaikai he fight. R 91.

kalass glass, mirror. SG 27.

kanaka natives of the islands. This is pure Polynesian and impressed upon the Melanesians by the white voyagers. In Polynesian the word is *tangata*, it is only in Hawaiian that the dialectic variation produces the form *kanaka*. From this we are warranted in drawing the conclusion that the word came into sailor English aboard the whaleships, for Honolulu was their principal port for refitting after the voyages in search of the cachalot and before setting north in pursuit of the right whale.
me fraid belong kanaka. S 127.

keep he keep a bee there. G 243.
no speak out, keep him inside. V 254.

kiab master. Local to the Bismarck Archipelago.
you sabe too much, kiab. Sg 25, 60, 124.

kiaman to tell lies. Local to the Bismarck Archipelago.
all he kiaman. SG 121.

kiau egg. New Britain, Gazelle Peninsula.

kill
1. to beat. Re 114.
suppose you killum kanaka one time he sore, suppose you killum killum plenty too much mebbe he die finish.
2. to kill.
yes, I killum all right. G 215, 232.
3. to die.
he full up blood he kill him. Se 563. (A penalty of eating a tabu body, the blood rises up into the sinner's throat and he dies therefrom.)

kind
he savy that another kind: to know better. Se 623.
another kind of: different. V 252.
he feel another kind inside: to change the mind. V 252.

knife W 386. See *go-to-hell*.

know he know he come. W 349.

kumara the Polynesian name for the sweet potato.

lady what name lady he maki cry? SG 27.

land land he come up. SG 30.

laugh bymby all men laugh along that boy. Se 567.
he plenty laugh. G 207.

lazy me too much lazy. SG 29.
suppose he lazy he hit him a little fellow. W 349.

learn to teach.
best thing you learn us. V 254.

leg leg you got in one fellow box. G 260.

let he no take him, let another fellow man take him. Se 444.
let go heart: to covet. V 253.
let go: to release. V 253.

like adverb.
tail belong him just like oar. R 118.
wail like hell. R 115.
like milk inside. R 101.
color like curry. R 95.
they fright like hell. L 363.
strong like stone. V 252.
like brother. V 253.

like verb.
he no like that work. W 349, SG 29, 60.
me like him two rifle. L 361.
you like me proper: to love. V 253.
what name you no like'm me? L 363.
he like kill you me. S 127.
me like too much: to love. V 253, J 77.

likkilik, liklik Polynesian and Melanesian *liki* small, see "The Polynesian Wanderings," page 229.
1. almost, pretty nearly. See *close up.*
he likkilik allright now. SG 22.
2. little, small.
me like liklik work liklik kaikai. SG 29.

limlibur New Britain, Gazelle Peninsula.
to take a walk, to do nothing. S 301. Cf. *walk about.*

line rope.
make'm fast that fellow line.

little jus' little fellow bit. G 246.
he hit him a little fellow. W 349.
he spell for little: to rest. V 253.
little bit dry. R 111.

load to hump a load: to carry a burden on the back or on a pole. Cf. *hump.*

long preposition. by, at, with, on; Re 114. See *along, belong.*
me cross long woman me rauss him. Sg 109.
you go long house belong me. Re 114.
you look long big fellow he cry suppose me fight him. Re 114.
me take him all time long cigar: holder. Re 114.
no sabe talk long white man. SG 20.

long adjective.
long fellow missis. S 303.
long time ago. W 290.
stop long time. W 380.
before long time altogether no place he stop. L 362.
he fraid long way from village. Se 162.
long way little bit; long way big bit; long way too much. L 360.

look noun.
this look: this way, this fashion. V 254.

look verb.
1. to see.
woman he look him. SG 123.
very good you go look chief belonga me. W 143.
he look'm this fella Adam he walk about too much. L 363.
suppose you look'm these two fella. L 364.
god he no savvee look along us two fella. L 363, V 254.
he savvee look along nusipepa: to be able to read.
2. to look.
go look'm eye belong you along deck: L 359.
3. no look'm me too much: to stare at. V 254.
4. me look him: to look him over. W 15.
5. he look daylight a long time: to lie awake. V 252.
6. he look very smart: to act quickly. V 253.
look alive: hurry up, be quick.

look out
1. to care for, to take an interest in.
Queen Victoria he look out all man stop this place. W 386.
you look out boy belong me. SG 29.
me savvee look out along boat. L 361.
2. to guard against.
look out good for spear or some boy get him spear. Se 560.
suppose you come my place you look out. Ro 252.
3. to be on good behavior.
me speak cappen belong man-o'war suppose you no look out. W 144.
4. to find. V 253.
5. to seek. V 253.

look round to seek: I been look round before. V 254.

loose to omit.
he no loose him one fellow night. F 105.

low speak very low. V 254.

mainland all same belong mainland. R 120.

make
1. to make, with noun object.
make fool of. V 252
make wau wau wau: to make a fuss. HW 53.
make hell of a noise: to make an outcry. R 109.
he make'm altogether; he make'm big fella garden. L 363.
make'm trouble along boy. L 363.
he make'm one big fennis. L 364.
make him humbug. V 253.
2. to do.
you work work all'm time too much, what you make'm?
3. verb formative with adjectives.
bottle something makee cold. HW 97.
make adrift: to untie, to open.
make fast. V 252.
make flash. V 253.
he make bad for misinari. G 232.
4. auxiliary to verbs in causative sense.
make him capsize: to spill. G 207.
what name lady he maki cry: to sing. SG 27.
he make'm Adam he go sleep. L 363.
he make all man feel no good. V 252.
make no more cry: to comfort. R 144.

man
1. man, in general.
he plenty good kaikai one fellow man G 212.
for killum man. G 232.
man he dream him. Se 173.
so man he savy this fellow grave. Se 623.
another fellow man. Se 444.
some place me go man he no good. L 361.

man
all man: everybody. V 252.
chief he old man. W 143.
2 with territorial designation. See *blackman, whiteman.*
(*a*) place name preceding.
Malekula man. G 207.
Tanna man. G 243, 260.
(*b*) place name following.
Man-Sydney: white man. W 284.
man-Matupi. W 290.
man-Vila. W 143.
man-Sandwich. W 144.
man-bush. Glaumont: Nouvelles-Hébrides 71.
(*c*) place name with o'.
man-o'-bush very good. W 284.
man-o'-weewee: Frenchman. W 143.
man-o'-war. W 144.
3. husband. V 253.

mana a Polynesian word which covers all the supernatural powers involved in wizardry, the influence of the god embodied in a man and equally in inanimate objects.

man-o'-war hawk the frigate bird.

maori See *copper-maori.*

mary all women are so called generically. HW 52, L 360. Established in New Zealand before 1815, according to Nicholas.
mary belong Malekula man. G 207.
him fella Adam him want'm mary. L 363.

mast two fellow mast: a schooner or ketch.

master big fellow master: captains, traders, etc. SG 24.
small fellow master: sailors, etc. SG 24.
big fellow master too much: governor SG 24.
big fella marster belong blackman: chief. L 359.
god big fella marster belong white man. L 363.
one fella marster belong god: angel. L 364.

match that fellow break (to light) plenty match. W 96.

me
1. subject.
suppose me kitch him grass. SG 25.
suppose me no see my island, me no lik'e you too much. J 77.
me too much lazy. SG 29, 60.
me cross long woman me rauss him. SG 109, 121.
2. with fellow.
(*a*) yes, he good, me fellow me drink him. SG 27.
me fella me savee him. L 362.
(*b*) dual.
me two fellow Lagia: I and Lagia. F 106.
me two fellow me fight down below, he likkilik allright now. SG 22.
more good you me two fella we eat'm this fella apple. L 363.

me object.
he tell me takeum cutter big fellow hospital Ambrym. G 198.
I think you give me big fellow tobacco. G 223.
belong me: my.

meat kaikai meat along butcher. R 108.
he all bone got no meat: to be thin. V 254.

mebbe maybe, perhaps.
suppose you killum killum plenty too much mebbe he die finish.

medicine you give him medicine belong him. SG 23.

milk like milk inside. R 101.

misinari
1. missionary.
he make bad for misinari. G 232.
2. that fine product known to Exeter Hall and the monthly concert as "the native Christian."

missi Miss G 212.

missis big fellow missis. S 303.
The differentiation of these two items is not regarded with precision, the estate being invisible and in the islander's eyes not particularly holy; that any distinction appears in our material may be due to the fact that *missi* is reported by a maiden lady.

money he put money, you kitch him money belong you. SG 24.

moon month
very good you speak three moon. W 373.

more wantum one fellow water, two fellow water, we give; no wantum more. G 198.
more better you come out. Se 383.
more good you me two fella we eat'm this fella apple. L 363.
make no more cry: to comfort. R 144.

mother father, mother he no wild. Se 567.

move (of emotion felt)
bäl belong him he move he no sileep. SG 123.

much see *too much.*
how much you pay? W 144.

musket he give this fella marster belong god one big fella musket. L 364.

my common in Mr. Ray's vocabulary along with *belong me*; in general use *belong me* is far more idiomatic.
that fellow he belong my place. Se 441.

name see also *what name.*
big fellow name. SG 23.
what name ship? W 15.
Adam he name belong him. L 363.

no negative answer.
Adam he speak "No!" L 363.
You savez me? No, no savez. W 290, SG 29.
A confusing precision in the use of the negative and affirmative is illustrated in this scrap of dialogue:
"What name here" [do you want anything]?
"No."
"No?"
"Yes." F 106.

no adjective.
here no kaikai. SG 10.
no water stop. G 35.
he no proper man belong my place. Se 441, 587.

no adverb: not.
that fellow mary he no savvee carry yam. G 207, 232, SG 20, 24, 110, 116, 121, 123, Se 383, 444, 441, J 77

no do not.
no be fraid Jonni, he good fellow. SG 24.

now see *this time.*
he likkilik all right now. SG 22, G 243, Se 623.

nusipepa a letter, any written or printed document.
he savvee look along nusipepa: he is able to read.

o interjection. This is certainly derived from the English use, for the characteristic exclamation of the Melanesians is *e* or some variant thereon; in the 35 languages collated by Dr. Codrington an exclamatory *o* is found in but one, the Efaté.
o he no sabe pull. SG 24, 29, 123, G 223.

oar tail belong him just like oar. R 118.

of there are but few prepositions in island speech, even at its richest development, yet most of these several languages have recognized a few of the relations which we indicate by **of**, and in a large number of cases they employ *o* or *a*. Accordingly *man-o'-bush* and the like expressions show a degree of cordiality toward the preposition of possession which is lacking toward other such words.
piece of word: sentence. G 106.

off bush stop far off gardens there. Se 614.

old old time fashion. Se 323.
he old man. W 143.
small fellow old man belong tail: the monkey.

on by-n'-by he go on. G 207.
he stop on top. Re 114.

one the same.
he no one sulu (clan). Se 441.

one
1. as indefinite article.
god he make'm one big fennis all around garden. L 364.
bimeby one day Eve she come along Adam. L 363.
I think you wantum one fellow head. G 223, 212, 198, 260.
2. one time.
(*a*) formerly, once.
one time Lamanian man he keep a bee there. G 243.
(*b*) once, at once.
suppose you killum kanaka one time he sore.

only only he one: alone. V 252, HW 97.

or look out for spear good along fight or some boy he get him spear. Se 560.

other all same other fellow belong simoke. Re 114.
he got house other side Matupi. W 290.

outside my boy outside all time: away from home. V 252.

pain see *sore.*
one fellow pain. SG 20.

paper see *nusipepa.*
housepaper: government office. HW 53.

pappa pappa belong me he go finish yes'erday. G 223.

peasoup, pisupo
This is the designation of all foreign foods which are preserved in tinned drums. Its origin is in fact less simple than might appear, for in the dietary schedule of the whalers pea soup was not put up in tins but freshly prepared in the galley when needed. "Soup and bully" was the only tinned food of such voyages. The term now covers all foods that come in round flat tins; beef is the staple article under this designation, for mutton, whether fresh or preserved, is generally repugnant to the islander's palate. Salmon is an exception to the *peasoup* classification, being known as *samani.*

pickaninny child. Found in New Zealand in 1815 by Nicholas.
pickaninny belong me. V 252.
pickaninny stop along him fella: an egg. L 361.

piece piece of word: sentence. R 106.
break my people all a pieces. J 98.

pig suppose me kaikai pig me die. SG 121.

pigeon any bird. V 252.
grass belong pigeon: feather. V 253

place fire place: crater. G 259.
that fellow place you eatum dinner. G 259.
that fellow he belong my place. Se 441.
some place me go man he no good. L 361.
he catch him place: to arrive. V 252.
suppose you come my place. Ro 252
this place: here.
that place: there.

plantation in distinction this is used of the greater agricultural operations of the white men; the small farm patches of the islanders are *gardens*.

play canoe belong play. V 254.

plenty adjective.
1. many. V 253.
plenty boy die. W 349, 96.
2. abundance of.
captain good man takee plenty wine. HW 98.
no get him plenty kaikai. W 349, L 363, SG 29.
3. plenty time: frequently.
he speak all-a-same plenty time. W 373.

plenty adverb.
1. greatly, very.
woman he look him, he run him, he kitch this fellow man, he speak him puss-puss, oh he puss-puss plenty. SG 123.
head belong him he break plenty. G 198.
spit fire plenty. J 103.
he plenty laugh. G 207, 232.
by-n'by hearum plenty smell. G 259.
he plenty good kaikai. G 212.
talk plenty bad. V 254.
you speak lie plenty. J 80.
plenty all right. G 223.
2. plenty too much: very great indeed.
big fellow kaikai plenty too much. HW 139, 53.

presents W 386.

proper right, fit.
he no proper man belong my place. Se 441.
no proper word belong talk: incomprehensible. Se 587.
correct. V 252.
you like me proper: to love. V 253.

pull to row a boat; see *washee* to paddle.
he no sabe pull. SG 24.
little fellow bokkus you pull him he cry: accordeon.

puss-puss to love, see page 30.
he speak him puss-puss: she tells him that she loves him, for this is savage life. SG 123.
o he puss-puss plenty. SG 123.
he puss-puss belong this fellow. SG 123.
this fellow mary he no good, he make him too much puss-puss belong all Buka. F 105.

put to set, to give.
white man he hear him he put money. Sg 24.
suppose you no put him down very good. G 207.
he make'm one fella man and put'm along garden. L 363.
put eye on me too much: to stare at. V 254.

quick yam he break very quick. G 207.

rain rain he stop: to be raining. L 360.

rauss big fellow marster he rauss me. HW 53, SG 109, 110.

reef he find him along reef. Se 173.

right oh, he all right, he right, plenty all right. G 223.
all right all right, he small now, bymbye he big. Se 623.
bimeby Adam he tired too much and he speak "all right." L 363.
yes I killum all right. G 215.
you no good, you dead; he tell "no, all right." G 198.
he likkilik all right now. SG 22, 23, 25.

road give me good road: to direct aright. V 253.
he come back because of bad road. R 136.

rogue Aipus was a bloody rogue. V 253.

roll he roll up swag: to collect one's property. V 253.

rope see *line*.
rope along bush: a liana. R 97. V 253, 254.

round I been look round before. V 254.

row have a row: to quarrel. V 253.

run woman he look him, he run him: to run after. SG 123.
too much run about: to waste time. V 254. (more commonly *walk about*.)

sailó sailho! The cry dates from the old beachcombing days when the islanders were instructed that this was a call that must be repeated when once heard and repeated until it was heard taken up at yet more remote distance. The habit remains, although the loneliness of the white exile's life on the beaches is somewhat more frequently interrupted and the sighting of the distant sail is no longer the break of the monotony, moving him to seclusion in the bush for avoidance or to the beach for enjoyment, according as his hidden knowledge of his past may govern his present.

salt man-Sydney no good, too much salt. W 284.

samani tinned salmon; see *peasoup*.

same, all same
1. just as.
all same dark you can't see. Se 610.
all same sick he no savvee kaikai. L 363.
all same mary she talk along boy. L 363.
2. like, to resemble.
plenty good, Missi, all same one fellow chicken. G 212.
all same fire. V 253, R 120.
all along same as: to resemble. V 253.
all the same one: alike. V 252.
this fellow no all the same. W 144.
3. that, with explicit particularity.
that fellow place you eatum dinner, all same place Tannaman he eat woman. G 260.
he speak all-a-same plenty time. W 373.

savvy to know, to know how, to understand to comprehend, to believe, to be able.
1. absolute, to be wise.
you sabe too much. SG 25.
2. in negative response.
no savez, Cap. W 290.
3. governs a verb directly.
this fellow he no sabe talk along white man. SG 20.
he no sabe pull. Sg 24, G 207, L 362.
4. governs a direct object.
you no savvee white man, me fella me savvee him. L 362, G 259.
5. to be able.
chief he old man he no savey walk good. W 143.
all the same sick he no savvee kaikai. L 363.
6. he savez that another kind: to know better. Se 623.

say me speak along him say bokkis he stop L 362.
god say "what name?" L 363.

schooner G 232. More commonly *two fellow mast*.

scrub see *bush*.
they fright like hell and they go hide along scrub. L 363–4.

see all same dark you can't see. Se 610.
see you no: do not. V 253.

sent me shiver sent: I shivered. V 254.

she subject. The gender distinction is rare, see *he*.
she carry yam all-a-time. G 207.

shift to move. V 253.

ship W 15.

shiver me shiver sent: I shivered. V 254.

shoot s'pose you look'm these two fella Adam Eve you shoot'm plenty too much. L 364.

short short man. HW 53.
short of wind: breathless. V 252.

shove little fellow bokkus you shove him he cry, you pull him he cry: accordeon.

sick see *bad*.
all the same sick. L 363.

side he got house other side Matupi. W 290.
This place and *other side* are very frequent position designations on the smaller islands, not only in the Beach-la-mar but in the proper languages of the several islands.

sing see *cry*.

sing out
hearum sing out: hear the noise of the eruption. G 259.
what name you sing out along me? L 362.
he sing out "Adam!" L 363.
time wild fowl he sing out. V 253.

sing-sing a dance. SG 125, W 13.
a song. L 361.

skin skin belong me heavy: to be thirsty. V 254.

sky half-way in sky. R 101.
all along same as island in sky. V 252.

sleep me sleep strong fella too much. L 363.
woman he hear him, bäl belong him he move, he no sleep. SG 123.
sun he go down, he go sleep. W 349.

slew slew, slew round, slew behind: to turn. V 254.
bone along me slew: to be bewitched. V 252.

slush to anoint.
that fellow mary he slush'm grass belong head too much stink: to dress the hair with perfumed oil.

small of size, and a general diminutive.
he small now bymbye he big. Se 623.
small bush in garden: weeds. R 122.
small father: father's younger brother. V 253.
small talk: to whisper. V 254.
small boy: foolish. V 253.
cook him small hot: underdone. V 253.
small fellow master. SG 24, 23, R 121, L 360.
talk small fellow: to promise not to. V 253.

smart he look very smart: to act quickly. V 253.

smell see *stink*.
bymby hearum smell. G 259.

smoke all same other fellow belong smoke. Re 114.

so so man he savy this fellow grave. Se 623.
so Adam Eve these two fella go along scrub. L 364.

some some boy he get him spear. Se 560.
some place me go. L 361.

something he feel something bad in heart: angry. V 252.
small fellow something he go belong bush: the land crab. S 303.
small fellow something he come he kaikai all finish: ant. S 304.

sore hurt, pain, smart: as noun and as verb.
suppose you killum kanaka one time he sore, suppose you killum killum plenty too much mebbe he die finish.

sorry bymby he sorry he no take him. Se 444.
they sorry for boy: to pity. V 253.

speak
1. to speak to, to address.
me speak cappen belong man-o'war. W 144.
he like speak you. W 143.
he speak him puss-puss. SG 123.
me speak along him say bokkis he stop. L 362.
2. to say.
he speak wantum one fellow water. G 198.
you speak lie plenty. J 80.
speak we come along three moon. W 373.
he speak "this fella garden he belong you." L 363.
3. to ask.
he speak how much you pay. W 144.
4. to talk about.
you speak too much taboo. SG 121.
5. me no speak: to assent. V 252.
he speak straight: to tell the truth. V 254.
no speak out. V 254.
speak very low: to whisper. V 254.

spear, sipia
look out for spear good along fight. Se 560.
some boy he get him spear: to be speared. Se 560.

spell
1. to rest.
he spell for little. V 253.
2. a resting period, an interval.
you give me spell. V 253.
he makeum lazy one spell bymbye he work plenty strong fellow.

spirit spirit belong all white men no good. P 266.

spit
1. swallow spit: to covet. V 253.
2. jealous. V 253.

spoil he been spoil us: to bewitch. V 252.

quareface bottle.
This is good sailor English for the gin bottle of that geometry; before the passage of the Western Pacific acts such bottles with contents of vitriolic property were articles of trade. The name has been extended to include all forms of glassware, no matter what the shape.

stink to be odoriferous, whatever the quality of the odor.
suppose me kitch him grass he die he stink. SG 25, 117.
water belong stink: perfumery.
apple belong stink: onion.
slush belong stink: coconut oil scented with ilangilang.

stone he make strong and like stone. V 252.

stop almost a general substantive verb.
1. to be.
no water stop: there is no water. G 35.
bush stop far off. Se 614.
rain he stop: it rains. L 360.
coconut belong him grass no stop.
me speak along him say bokkiss he stop: is my property. L 362.
Tologga stop: is here. W 289.
2. to be in a position relative.
he stop on top. Re 114.
stop behind. G 207.
3. to live in.
two white men stop Matupi. W 290, 144.
when he stop along his island. W 349, V 252.
he look out all man stop this place. W 386.
pickaninny stop along him fella: an egg. L 361.
4. to prevent.
why you stop him get hurt? Wa 152.

straight
he talk straight: to speak plainly. V 254.
speak straight: to tell the truth. V 254.

strong you fellow strong along fight. Se 560, SG 124.
he make strong like stone: brave. V 252.
suppose he work strong fellow. W 349.
me sleep strong fella too much. L 363.

sugar he work along sugar cane. W 349.
sugar-bag: comb full of honey. R 127.

sulu Fijian *sulu*.
The fold of cloth wrapped around the waist and covering the legs more or less.

sun sun he come up, sun he go down. W 349.

suppose suppose he work strong fellow white fellow he no hit him. W 349, SG 25, 121, G 207, J 77.
s'pose you look'm these two fella. L 364.

swag portable property, provision for a march.
he roll up swag. V 253.

swallow swallow spit: to covet. V 253.

swill down: to drink. V 253.

tabu any matter that is forbidden.
you speak too much tabu. SG 121.
one fella tree he tambo along you altogether. L 363.

tail tail belong him (the stingray) just like oar. R 118.
small fellow old man belong tail: the monkey.

take to carry, to take, to have.
1. only takee tea. HW 97.
he sorry he no take him. Se 444.
cappen you been take me along three year. W 373.
he tell me takeum cutter big fellow hospital. G 198.
he take one fella bone belong him. L 363, Se 560.
fellow belong simoke me take him all time long cigar: a cigar holder. Re 114.
2. you take him he come: bring here. Re 114.
that schooner no takee-him come-him friend. G 232.
3. take cold heart: mild tempered. V 253.

talk to speak.
this fellow he no sabe talk long white man. SG 20.
all he talk: they all say. SG 121.
no proper word belong talk. Se 587.
Eve she talk talk talk allee time. L 363.
talk along boy. L 363.
talk too much crooked: to deceive. V 253.
talk big: to promise. V 253.
talk small fellow: promise not. V 253.
talk straight: to speak plainly. V 254.
talk plenty bad belong man: to swear. V 354.

taro the bulb of *Caladium esculentum*. L 363.

tea HW 97.

tell to speak, to order.
1. he tell me takeum cutter. G 198, 223.
2. to say.
he tell "no, all right." G 198.
3. to ask.
we tell "what name we go Ambrym?" G 198.
inside tell himself: to consider. V 252.

ten two fellow ten one fellow: twenty-one. HW 53.

that the distant demonstrative, idiomatically supported by *fellow*.
that schooner. G 232, 259.
that boy. Se 567.
he do that. Se 567, 623.
that fellow that fellow he belong my place. Se 441.
you savvy that fellow place. G 259, 207, 232.

the all the boy. W 373, G 243, 259.

then more idiomatically *that time*.
bymby he go on then you coming. G 207.

there commonly *that place, all same place*.
he keep a bee there. G 243.
bush stop far off gardens there. Se 614.

these the plural distinction is an unnecessary refinement.
Adam Eve these two fella. L 364.

thing not in common use.
best thing you learn us. V 254.

think I think he plenty cross. G 232, 223, 243.
heart along him think. V 254.
I think you give me big fellow tobacco: to hope. G 223.
we think he eat: perhaps. V 253.

this the near demonstrative, idiomatically supported by *fellow*.
this time: now
suppose this fellow man he sabe. SG 25, Se 623.
he puss-puss belong this fellow. SG 124.
this fellow he no sabe talk. SG 20.
by and by this fellow he die. SG 26.
this fellow he good. SG 27.

three particularly noted in speech because of the underlying trinal number.
three moon. W 349, 373, G 260.
three fellow. HW 53.
me three fellow: trinal, I and two others.

throat my throat he fast: to be dumb. V 253.

tight half-tight: scarcity of water. V 252.

tik-a-tik watch. R 168.

time
1. no got time: to be unable.
2. all time: always.
he go all time: a watch or clock. Re 114.
we fellow stop all time along Mabuiag. V 252.
she carry yam all-a-time. G 207.
he walk about all the time. L 363.
talk allee time. L 363.
look along us two fella all'm time. L 363.
3. first time: formerly. V 253.
4. good time.
they two fella have'm good time too much. L 363.
5. long time.
he look daylight a long time: to lie awake. V 252.
long time fashion: old custom. V 253.
stop Matupi long time ago. W 290.
6. old time: ancient.
old time fashion. Se 323.
7. one time: once, at once. V 253.
one time Lamanian man he keep a bee there: formerly. G 243.

time
8. plenty time: often, frequently.
he speak all-a-same plenty time. W 373.
9. that time: then. this time: now.

tired bimeby Adam he tired too much. L 363.
white man he tired too much close up all same blackboy he bloody lazy: when a whiteman refrains from work you say it's because he is exhausted, but when the kanaka stops to rest you call him "bloody lazy."

to get to hell. L 364.

tobacco you give me big fellow tobacco. G 223.

tomahawk W 386.
brother belong tamiok he come he go: a saw. F 100.
This is the Colonial designation of the hatchet in distinction from the "American axe." That tomahawk has passed into Beach-la-mar and axe has not is doubtless due to the fact that the blade when sold as a tomahawk is promptly dismounted from its hatchet helve and reassembled as an adze, a process to which the axe less readily lends itself.

too color like curry, he bite too. R 95.

too much the usual method of indicating a superlative.
big fellow master too much: governor SG 24.
big fellow master plenty too much: governor. HW 53.
you sabe too much. SG 25.
me too much lazy. SG 29, W 284.
too much work. SG 29, Ro 252.
too much a moon (many). J 95.
too much he fraid. Se 162.
he too much fright. Se 552, W 349.
what for you too much a pool? me no lik'e you too much. J 77.

top he stop on top: to be above. Re 114.
top: mountain. S 310.

trash to throw away.
trash him: to weed. W 349.

trouble make'm trouble along boy. L 363.

true he strong, he good, be true. SG 124.

tumble down to die.
The full locution "tumble down blackfellow jump up whitefellow" is used in Australia to describe what is popularly regarded as a belief of the aborigines in metempsychosis. I have never heard the complete phrase in Beach-la-mar, and have never encountered such a belief in reincarnation among the island savages. In a modest way they look upon the white folk as a queer lot into whose existence it would prove scantily attractive to be born anew.

two particularly noted in speech because of the underlying dual number.
two white men. W 290, G 260.
he cross along Adam Eve two fella. L 364, HW 53, G 198.
me two fella: I and one other.

up come up.
full up.

very except as *very good* this is better expressed by *plenty* or *too much*.
yam he break very quick. G 207.
speak very low. V 254.

very good
suppose you no put him down very good. G 207.
very good you no go firs'. G 207, W 373.
man-o'bush very good. W 284.
very good belong boil yam. W 122.

village Se 162.

wail wail like hell: to be angry. R 115.

walk no savvey walk good. W 143.

walk about
1. to walk.
god he come walk about along garden. L 363.
2. to go ashore. L 360.
3. to be in motion.
that fella boom be walk about too much. L 360.
big fella clam, kaikai he no stop he walk about. L 360.
4. belly belong me walk about too much: seasick. L 360.
5. to do nothing, to be idle.
he no savvee kaikai, he walk about too much. L 363.

want to desire.
girl no want him. Se 567.
he speak wantum one fellow water. G 198, 223.

washee a paddle, a sweep, an oar, to row. L 361.
This is the vernacular name of the paddle, Polynesian *foke*, Melanesian *vose*, see "Polynesian Wanderings," page 429.

watch to observe.
you watch me good: carefully. V 252.

water any fluid regardless of potability.
water belong stink: perfumery. R 114.
wantum one fellow water. G 198, 35. Se 383.

way see *long way*.

we subject. G 198.
fashion belong we fellow. V 253.

week two, three, four week. G 260.

weewee man-o-weewee: French. W 143.

well well, I eatum jus' little fellow bit. G 246.

what for what for he do that? Se 567, W 258, 373, J 77.

what name what; why, S 300; how. V 253; who, V 254.
what name lady he maki cry? SG 27, 29.
what name we go Ambrym? G 198.
god say "what name? Me no savvee what name this fella Adam he want." L 363.
what name you sing out along me. L 362–3.
Eve she speak "Gammon! What name? L 363.

when when they finish eat'm. L 363.

where where you come from? W 15.
where he stop? V 254.

whitefellow see note under *blackman*. W 349.
whitefellow blackman: a black in clothing. HW 53.

whiteman no sabe talk long whiteman. SG 20, 24, L 362.
spirit belong all white men. P 266, W 290.

wife wife belong you. Se 383.

wild
1. wild fowl he sing out. V 253.
2. had-tempered, cross, angry. V 253.
father, mother he no wild. Se 567.
he wild like hell. V 252.
he wild inside. V 253.

wind man-Sandwich no make big wind. W 144.
short of wind: breathless. V 252.

wine HW 98.

wire in to eat.
In every instance in which I have heard the expression it has always struck me as the conscious use of fine language, as though my cannibal host extended the invitation to partake of his hospitality, not with the common **kaikai**, but with the implied suggestion "as you white men say" wire in.

with I love you proper with my heart inside. V 253.

woman me cross long woman me rauss him. SG 109, 123, G 260.

word no proper word belong talk. Se 587.
piece of word: sentence. R 106.
you give me bad word: advice. V 252.
you look out, my word. Ro 252, W 96, L 361–3.

work too much work. SG 29, 110.
he work alonga sugarcane. W 349.

yam you buy yam? W 15, 122, G 207, L 363.
fine yam. V 253.

yarn a true story, narrative of an actual event. R 98.
all yarn: converse. V 252.
to tell tales. V 254.

year take me along three year. W 373.
he come three years. W 349.

yes SG 29, 124, G 215, W 123, 290, L 363.

yesterday G 223, W 386.

you you give him medicine. SG 23, 24, 25, G 198, 207, 223, 259, 260.
you fellow look out for spear. Se 560
all same dark you can't see. Se 610.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES.

F FRIEDERICI, GEORG. Pidgin-Englisch in Deutsch-Neuguinea. Berlin: Koloniale Rundschau, 1911, p. 92.

G GRIMSHAW, BEATRICE. Fiji and its Possibilities (From Fiji to the Cannibal Islands). New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1907.

HW HESSE-WARTEGG, ERNST VON. Samoa, Bismarckarchipel und Neuguinea, drei deutsche Kolonien in der Südsee. Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1902.

J JACOBS, THOMAS JEFFERSON. Scenes, Incidents and Adventures in the Pacific Ocean. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1844.

L LONDON, JOHN. Beche de Mer English. London: Contemporary Review No. 525, p. 359, 1909.

P PARKINSON, R. Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee: Land und Leute, Sitten und Gebräuche im Bismarckarchipel und auf den deutschen Salamoinseln. Stuttgart: Strecker & Schröder, 1907.

R RAY, SIDNEY H. Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits: vol. III, Linguistics. Cambridge: University Press, 1907.

Re REINECKE, DR. F. Samoa. Berlin: Wilhelm Süsserott (1902).

Ro ROMILLY, HUGH HASTINGS. From my Verandah in New Guinea: Sketches and Traditions. London: David Nutt, 1889.

S SCHNEE, Dr. HEINRICH. Bilder aus der Südsee: Unter den kannibalischen Stämmen des Bismarck-Archipels. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1904.

SG STEPHAN, Dr. EMIL, und Dr. FRITZ GRAEBNER. Neu-Mecklenburg (Bismarck-Archipel): die Küste von Umuddu bis Kap St. Georg. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1907.

Se SELIGMANN, Dr. C. G. The Melanesians of British New Guinea. Cambridge: University Press, 1910.

V RAY, SIDNEY H. (ut supra). Vocabulary of the Jargon English of Torres Straits under 170 entries.

W WAWN, WILLIAM T. The South Sea Islanders and the Queensland Labour Trade: a Record of Voyages and Experiences in the Western Pacific, from 1875 to 1891. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1893.

Wa WALKER, H. WILFRID. Wanderings among South Sea Savages and in Borneo and the Philippines. London: Witherby & Co., 1909.